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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Church of England.

LONDON:

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Church of England.

BY J. B. S. CARWITHEN, B. D.
OF ST. MARY HALL, OXFORD; BAMPTON LECTURER FOR 1809; AND
VICAR OF SANDHURST, BERKS.

PART THE FIRST.
TO THE
RESTORATION OF THE CHURCH AND MONARCHY
IN 1660.

——— “That posterity may know we have not loosely, through silence, permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men’s information extant thus much concerning the state of the church of God established amongst us.”—HOOKER.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR BALDWIN AND CRADOCK.

1829

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TO THE
RIGHT REV. CHARLES LLOYD, D. D.

LORD BISHOP, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY
IN THE UNIVERSITY, OF OXFORD.

MY LORD,

IF the present undertaking had not been encouraged by your approbation, I should have been impelled by many powerful motives to solicit for a History of the Church of England the patronage of the theological professor of the University of Oxford. A lively sense of personal gratitude to the university; a strong attachment to those principles of orthodoxy to which it has inflexibly adhered; and an earnest hope that my labours may be useful in assisting the studies of its rising youth; all these sentiments would have induced me to offer the following work to your Lordship's acceptance and protection.

In that eventful portion of our ecclesiastical history, which these volumes comprise, a large

and a distinguished space is filled by your Lordship's predecessors in the academical chair. One of the most eminent, the judicious Sanderson, exhibits a character which the historian cannot contemplate without advantage, and which he may safely propose to himself as a model. Living in an age when party spirit raged with unparalleled fury, and vented itself in polemical divinity; devoted to a branch of his profession not cultivated in a protestant church, a branch of study the most dangerous when not under the control of a sound judgment and an honest heart; this illustrious theologian nobly withstood the temptation of perverting casuistry to the purposes of private inclination, popular favour, or temporal greatness, and directed his patient inquiries and laborious deductions to the promotion of truth, piety, and peace.

These great objects I have endeavoured to keep in view, and trust that I have not failed; for, in the absence of other requisites, I fearlessly lay claim to diligence and candour. Your Lordship eminently possessing these qualities, in conjunction with many others, can fully appreciate the difficulties of my task, and excuse the unavoidable

deficiencies in its performance. That it has not been previously attempted by one more competent than myself, may be a matter of surprise as well as regret. In the part which is now presented to the public, I have been preceded by many writers, but their works are calculated for reference rather than for general reading. In the part which, by the divine blessing, is to follow, the path is untrodden, and the modern history of the English church is still a desideratum in the literature of the country.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. B. S. CARWITHEN.

Sandhurst,
January, 1829.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary View of the English Church before the Reformation.—Divided into three Eras—I. The Anglo-Saxon Church, from the Time of Augustine to the Conquest—II. From the Conquest to the Reign of King John—III. From Magna Charta to the Reformation.

THE reformation of the church of England was distinguished from that of the other protestant churches of Europe, in its origin, in its progress, and in its extent. In the one case, a high-spirited and absolute monarch, encountering no other opposition than from his own prejudices, emancipated himself from the papal authority, which had once been the object of his obsequious deference and zealous support. In the other case, an obscure individual, educated in monastic retirement, sustained by native intrepidity, and aided by popular favour, stood forward to combat not only the spiritual power of the Romish see, but the hostility of those despotic princes who were devoted to its interests. Henry the Eighth began the English reformation by subverting the papal jurisdiction, while he sin-

A. D.

CHAP. J.
cerely believed, and rigorously enforced, the fundamental tenets of the papal creed. Luther, the controversial antagonist of Henry, commenced by impugning the principal doctrines of the Romish church, before he proceeded to separate himself from its communion. The English reformers, after the death of Henry, entered into an examination of the doctrine and discipline of that church from which they separated, without an undistinguishing antipathy towards either, and retained both, as far as they agreed with the rules of Scripture and the practice of primitive Christianity. The foreign reformers, animated by the example of Luther, and by indignation against the corruptions of the see of Rome, seceded as far as possible from its doctrine, its polity, and its ritual, without sacrificing the essentials of the Christian faith.

To pursue this comparison through all its points of difference, and to deduce its legitimate inferences, is the province of theological disquisition, rather than of ecclesiastical history. That the nature and effects of the Reformation may be historically understood, an accurate knowledge should be obtained of the previous state of the Christian world. It is for this reason that a general and succinct account of the English church, while under the dominion of the see of Rome, is necessary to render a narrative of its subsequent vicissitudes not only interesting but intelligible.

On the assumption that Christianity was introduced into the British isles, if not by the apostles themselves, at least by their immediate successors, an unquestionable fact may be stated, that Christian knowledge was retained by the aboriginal inhabit-

ants when their Saxon conquerors were enveloped in barbarism and idolatry. While Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were luminaries, “whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion*,” among their Saxon neighbours of the south of England the light of the gospel was entirely extinguished. When Augustine undertook his mission, it does not appear that among all the Saxons there was a single person professing Christianity†.

A. D.

The bishops of Rome had for some time meditated the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon nation before the pious design could be accomplished. Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, at length found a circumstance favourable to his wish, in the marriage of Bertha, a daughter of Charibert, king of the Franks, to Ethelbert, the reigning monarch of Kent. Among the ancient nations of Germany the female sex was believed to be peculiarly sacred, and favoured with more frequent revelations of the divine will. Women were therefore heard with uncommon attention in all deliberations that concerned religion‡.

596.

By the influence of Bertha, seconded by the persuasions of the Christian priests who accompanied her, Ethelbert expressed a disposition to renounce idolatry, and to embrace the religion of his queen. This disposition induced pope Gregory to send Augustine, a prior of a Benedictine monastery at Rheims, with forty of the fraternity, into the dominions of the Kentish king. They

* Dr. Johnson.

† Burke's Abridgement of English History, c. 1.

‡ Tacitus de Mor. German.

CHAP.
I.

entered Canterbury in procession; and the king heard them in the open air, in order to defeat, on a principle of Druidical superstition, the effect of their enchantments. Ethelbert was among the first of their converts; and a large portion of the nobles followed the example of their prince. Augustine pursued his pious labours with equal zeal and success. He opened seminaries of learning, and erected edifices for religious worship. Having received episcopal consecration from the bishop of Arles, he was invested by pope Gregory with the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon church, and was constituted the first archbishop of Canterbury.

529.

Augustine, when raised to the metropolitan see of England, was not unmindful of the religious community to which he had formerly belonged. The order of Benedict had been instituted in the beginning of the sixth century, and fully merited that pre-eminence which it long obtained among the other religious orders. According to the rule of its founder, its objects were of enlarged utility: its members were subjected to a milder discipline than generally prevailed among other monastics; and they were enjoined to employ the time unoccupied by devotional exercises in the cultivation of literature and the education of youth. Pope Gregory, the patron of Augustine, had been himself a Benedictine; and the new archbishop easily obtained a papal bull conferring peculiar privileges on a Benedictine monastery which he had founded in the city of Canterbury, and called after his own name. Thus, both episcopacy and monachism were introduced into the kingdom of Ethelbert;

and the period of their introduction properly constitutes the era of the Anglo-Saxon church. A. D.

I. As the newly-founded ecclesiastical establishment emanated from Rome, it was the aim of the apostolic see to rivet the connexion between the two churches. The dignity and the precedence annexed to the primacy of England by Gregory were confirmed by succeeding pontiffs. In accordance with the imperfect geography of those times, which described the inhabitants of the British isles as “*penitus divisos orbe Britannos*,” the archbishop of Canterbury, among his other titles, was styled “*papa alterius orbis*.” An inherent legislative power was vested in his office, and at general councils he was seated at the right foot of the pope. The great ecclesiastical chair of this kingdom, for nearly a century after the death of Augustine, was filled by foreigners. Among these, Theodorus, the seventh archbishop, deserves notice, as having contributed a valuable accession to the originally slender stock of Saxon literature. This prelate was by birth a Greek, and he first introduced the study of his native language into the island by founding a school at Canterbury*.

669.

Christianity having once taken root in the kingdom of Kent, spread itself with rapidity throughout the other kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy. Before the reduction of these states into one monarchy the see of York was established, and its jurisdiction comprised not only the kingdom of Northumbria, but extended into Scotland. The Northumbrian kingdom, as soon as it was converted, began to

629.

* Burke's Abridgement of English History, b. ii. c. 2.

CHAP. emulate, if not to surpass, the southern states.

I. While the latter derived all their Christian knowledge immediately from Rome, the former had a source of intellectual and religious light in another and more extraordinary quarter. The island of Icolmkill, or Iona, then renowned for the rigour of its ascetic discipline, and for its devotedness to the abstruse sciences, had a considerable share in forming the institutions of the Northumbrians. Northumbria was, if possible, more indebted to another island, lying off the northern extremity of its coast, called Landisfarn*, which was at that time the most flourishing monastery in Europe. Splendid as is the fame of Iona, the names of its literary men have perished; but of Landisfarn the works of the venerable Bede still attest the merited reputation. Though this father of Saxon learning, and ornament of the Saxon church, was not a genius of the highest order, yet it is impossible to refuse him the praise of unwearied diligence, and a generous thirst of knowledge.

The ancient British church, by whomsoever planted, was a stranger to the bishop of Rome and his pretended authority†. The Anglo-Saxon church, though planted by the popes, and though showing a deference to the Romish see, was far from obeying its mandates with blind submission. After the reduction of the Heptarchy, the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil government, acquired uniformity and consistence; and while the sovereignty of England continued in the Saxon line, the people were governed by their own institutions.

* Now called Holy Island.

† Blackstone's Com. b. iv. c. 8.

Some of these were the offspring of a rude and barbarous policy; but others are justly cherished with fondness, and regarded with veneration. A. D. _____

The division of England into counties has been assigned to Alfred, and the judicature which he established in these districts was of a peculiar kind. The association of the bishop and earl in the same court prevented any collision between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. In ecclesiastical causes, the bishop sat as judge, while the earl, as his coadjutor, gave effect to spiritual censures: in civil causes, the earl presided, and the bishop, as his assistant, conferred solemnity on the infliction of temporal penalties.

Episcopacy was fully recognised in the Saxon church as of divine institution, and its peculiar functions were accurately discriminated. It was such an episcopacy as obtained in the pure and primitive age of Christianity; not of an absolute but moderate nature. In the public ministration of divine offices, the highest in point of dignity was the consecration of the Lord's Supper; and this might be performed by a priest as well as by a bishop: but to the bishop alone belonged the right of jurisdiction, of conferring orders, of confirmation, and of spiritual superintendence*.

The submission of the priesthood to the Saxon bishops was, like that of the bishops to the see of

* *Haud pluris interest inter missalem presbyterum et episcopum, quam quod episcopus constitutus sit ad ordinationes conferendas, et ad confirmandum, et ad inspiciendum, curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent. Ambo siquidem unum tenent eandemque ordinem, quamvis dignior sit alter, scil. episcopi.*—*Spcl. Con.* vol. i.

CHAP.
I.

Rome, limited; and its independence was secured by the division of England into parishes. Not only the payment of tithes for the maintenance of a Christian ministry was adopted as a part of the general law of the church, and was recognised in England during the Heptarchy, but the division of parishes and the endowment of churches commenced under the Saxon constitution. Before the time of Edward the Confessor, the parochial boundaries were so far ascertained, that every man might be traced to the parish to which he belonged. Tithes were no longer paid to the bishop of the diocese, and distributed by him as universal incumbent; but were appropriated to the maintenance of the priest in whose parish they accrued, and he thenceforth obtained a free tenure in his benefice*.

William I.

II. The Conquest, since it not only changed the line of kings, but the whole polity of the English kingdom, properly constitutes the second era in the history of its church. Till this event we read of no civil authority claimed by the pope in these kingdoms†: but the reigning pontiff, Alexander the Second, having favoured William, in his projected invasion, by blessing his host and consecrating his banners, his successor, Gregory the Seventh, seized the opportunity of advancing a claim to temporal dominion. The haughty and fearless nature of the Conqueror alone prevented, on this occasion, a sacrifice of the national independence and the regal privileges. When Gregory demanded from William the arrears of the

* Spel. Con. vol. i.

† Blackstone's Com. b. iv. c. 8, with Coleridge's note,

Peter-pence*, and at the same time required homage for the English dominions as a fief of the holy see, the tribute was paid, but the homage was refused: the warlike monarch answered, that he held the kingdom of England of God only and his own sword.

A. D.
1079.
William I.

Yet, while the personal character of the Conqueror was a security against any sacrifice of national independence, he prepared the way for papal usurpation under his more imbecile successors. By him the whole system of Saxon jurisprudence was modelled according to the genius of his Norman subjects. In the beginning of his reign he manifested a disposition to leave the kingdom in the possession of its ancient institutions. At Berkhamstead, in the presence of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, he took a solemn oath to observe the good and approved laws of the realm, particularly those of Edward the Confessor, and at the same time issued a mandate, that twelve Saxons in each county should make inquiry, and certify what these laws were.

When the result of this inquiry was laid before William, he no longer concealed his inclination to adopt the Danish laws, as being more conformable to those of Normandy. The circumstance was no sooner perceived by the English, than they adopted the language of alarm and supplication: they besought their prince not to violate his late solemn

* Peter-pence, so called from being collected on the feast of Saint Peter in vinculis. This tax was imposed by Ina, king of the West Saxons, in 725, and at last became general. It was intended originally for the support of an English college at Rome, but was afterwards appropriated by the popes.

CHAP. engagement, but to confirm their laws as left by
 I. Edward the Confessor. To this supplication Wil-
 Will. I. liam at length consented; and in a general council
 1070. solemnly ordained that the laws of Edward, with
 such alterations and additions as he himself had
 made, should in all things be observed.

Though the system of Saxon jurisprudence was thus confirmed, and continued to be the basis of the common law, yet the alterations soon became material. One of the most important was the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil judicature. By an ordinance of the Conqueror, the bishop, with all ecclesiastical causes, was separated from the earl; and the earl, acquiring a feudal character, began to hold his county court after the manner of the feudal lords. This separation ingratiated William with the popish clergy, and augmented their power. They were now exempted from the secular authority; and, as all the learning of the times was engrossed by them, they obtained a decided superiority in the administration of the laws*.

1067. The Saxon prelates having been deprived by William, the bishoprics were filled by Normans and Italians, men unconnected with the civil state in which they lived, and devoted to a foreign power. In the synod which was convened for the purpose of deposing Stigand, and substituting Lanfranc in his room, the pope's legate is said to have presided for the first time in England†.

Will. II. William Rufus in no instance deviated from the policy of his father, and in many instances extended

* Reeve's Hist. of Eng. Law, v. iii. c. 2.

† Burke's Abridg. of Eng. Hist. b. iii. c. 2.

it: but his brother and successor, Henry the First, on his accession, attempted to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor. He united for a time the civil and ecclesiastical courts; but the union was soon dissolved, and the dissolution was perpetuated by the introduction of the pontifical code, or what is commonly termed the canon law.

A. D.
1067.
Will. II.

The canon law first known in England was formed by the permission and under the control of the civil government. Such a law was grounded on prescription, and supported by arguments of expediency. The existence of a church, with the gradation and subordination of governors and governed, necessarily implies a code of regulations for the direction of its various functionaries. This being admitted, a body of canonical jurisprudence had been suffered to grow up into maturity.

In a national synod assembled in England in the seventh century, the ancient canonical code of the Romish church was distinctly recognised by the clergy. It appears also that William the Conqueror, with the advice and assent of his great council, revised and reformed the ecclesiastical laws then in use*. These ancient canons were not hostile to regal prerogative or to civil liberty, and they were therefore received both by the king and people without reluctance.

In the reign of Henry the First, a compilation of canon law was made by Ivo de Chartres, containing many extravagant opinions, calculated to advance the dominion of the pope, and the pretensions of the clergy. But, about fourteen years after

Henry I.

* Wilkins, Leg. Ang. Sax.

CHAP. the date which vulgar opinion has assigned for the
 I. discovery of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalfi,
 Stephen. a complete body or digest of canon law was made by
 1137. Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Bologna. This
 1151. digest was a collection of opinions and decisions,
 extracted from sayings of the fathers, determina-
 tions of councils, and, above all, from decretal
 epistles of popes, tending to exalt the ecclesiastical
 state, and to exempt the clergy from secular sub-
 ordination. This volume, known by the title of
 The Decrees, emulated the Pandects of Justi-
 nian both in its composition and arrangement.
 The applause which this book received from the
 see of Rome, and from the clergy, soon raised its
 estimation above all former collections; and it
 afterwards became the grand code of ecclesiastical
 law on which the popish hierarchy rested its ex-
 travagant claims.

The resemblance of the Decrees of Gratian to
 the Pandects was afterwards extended to the other
 parts of the imperial code; and as the civil law
 consisted of four parts, so the canon law had a
 quadruple division*. The canon and civil law
 had always been studied by the same persons, and
 the connexion was now drawn more closely. Like
 the imperial and papal powers, they afforded to
 each other a mutual support; and though differing
 in some minute particulars, they agreed in essen-

* An *Institute* of canon law was drawn up by John Lancelot, in the pontificate of Paul IV., to correspond with the *Institutes* of Justinian; Gratian's *Decrees* answered to the *Digest* or *Pandects*; the *Decretals* answered to the *Code*; and the *Extravagants* of Pope John XXII. completed the analogy, by imitating the *Novels*.—Taylor's *Elements of Civil Law*.

tial points. They had the same professors; and the union of a canonist and a civilian was necessary to the formation of an accomplished churchman*.

A. D.

Stephen.

The two principal subjects of canonical legislation were matrimonial and testamentary; subjects comprehending no inconsiderable portion of the business of human life. With the first were connected all questions of legitimacy and divorce: with the last, the cognizance of all bequests and legacies, together with the administration of the property of intestates. The canon law also determined the rights of investiture to ecclesiastical benefices, and had a control over tithes, that fruitful source of ecclesiastical revenue.

The crimes and offences punishable by the ecclesiastical court, or, as it was commonly called, the Court Christian, were divided into such as were contrary to piety, to justice, and to sobriety; and it is impossible to name any crime which may not be included under one of these three divisions. When all the matters of canonical jurisdiction are enumerated, the power of the ecclesiastical court will appear truly formidable. Notwithstanding the struggles of English kings, of parliaments, and of the common lawyers, the canonists succeeded in establishing more than two-thirds of the pontifical law†.

In addition to the code of canon law, in which the last appeal was to the supreme pontiff, England was governed in ecclesiastical matters by the provincial constitutions. These were a collection of

* "Nullus clericus nisi causidicus"—William of Malmsbury.

† Reeve's Hist. of Eng. Law, v. i. c. 2. and v. iv. c. 1.

CHAP. canons, made by successive archbishops of Canter-
 I. bury, for the regulation of their own province,
 Stephen. and, since they were afterwards adopted by the
 province of York, for the government of the na-
 tional church. They were enacted by the arch-
 bishops, sometimes in their legatine, and some-
 times in their provincial capacity. But the obli-
 gation of these provincial constitutions was com-
 paratively weak; for whenever they were defective,
 or doubtful, or contradictory, they were to be
 supplied, resolved, and determined, by the higher
 authority of the pontifical law*.

The constitutions enacted by the archbishops of
 Canterbury, whether as metropolitans of the En-
 glish church or as legates of the pope, seldom excited
 complaint; but the pontifical law, on its first in-
 troduction, gave rise to jealousy and apprehension.
 When Vacarius, an eminent canonist and civilian,
 came into England, and, towards the end of the
 reign of Stephen, began to read his lectures at Ox-
 ford, the king, alarmed at the consequences to
 which these new doctrines might lead, is said to
 have issued a prohibition, forbidding his subjects
 to read any books on the canon law. This pro-
 hibition could not be directed against the ancient
 canon law, which had been ratified by the Saxon
 monarchs, but against the novel and dangerous
 opinions contained in the collection first made
 by Ivo de Chartres, and afterwards completed by
 Gratian.

From the time of the promulgation of the

* The provincial constitutions were digested and published
 with a commentary, from the time of Lanfranc to the middle
 of the fifteenth century, by that celebrated canonist Lynwode.

pontifical code must be fixed the commencement of the contests between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, by which the kingdom was constantly distracted. It was not until the publication of Gratian's decrees that the separate establishment of ecclesiastical judicature gained much strength, or that its exclusive jurisdiction was an object of dislike and suspicion.

A. D.
1149.

Stephen.

The progress of papal usurpation, during the reigns of the first Henry and Stephen, ought therefore to be distinctly marked, in its reference to the introduction of the canon law. The title of Henry to the throne was doubtful, and he found it necessary by concession to gain the support of his clergy; the title of Stephen was worse than doubtful, and his submission to the ecclesiastical power was still more implicit.

Until the time of Henry, every bishop elect received investiture of his temporalities from the king, of whom all bishops held their lands as baronies. Taken in this view, the bishoprics partook of the feudal nature as far as they were subjects capable of it. Homage and fealty were required from the bishop to the king, who, in return, gave to the bishop livery and seisin of the temporalities of the bishopric by the delivery of a ring and staff. This mode of investiture was not confined to England; it was general throughout Christendom; and pope Adrian confirmed this privilege to Charlemagne by an express grant.

But when the papal pretensions increased, a council at Rome strictly forbade the clergy to receive investitures from laymen, or to do them homage. Although vigorously attacked, Henry, with great

CHAP.
I.

Stephen.

resolution, maintained the rights of his crown with regard to investitures: but the uncertain tenure of his authority obliged him first to temporize and afterwards to yield. A compromise was settled, which, though apparently of no importance, was a substantial accession to the power of the Romish see. Henry, after the example of the other part of the western church, yielded the ring and crosier, reserving the rights of fealty and homage. But the advantage gained by the pope was material. Episcopal consecration was incomplete before the delivery of the ring and crosier, and the power of withholding these symbols of the pastoral authority operated as a prohibition in an early stage of the election.

1135. In the reign of Stephen, the clergy made large advances towards a complete independence of the civil government. His brother was bishop of Winchester, and chief justiciary of the kingdom; and through the influence of this prelate, Stephen was elected, in prejudice of the lawful heir. In the midst of the civil wars which followed, the clergy were not unmindful of extending their authority, and the spiritual court assumed a jurisdiction over a breach of faith in civil contracts. This was the boldest step which that tribunal ever made to enlarge its powers, and was calculated to draw under its cognizance most of the transactions of civil life.

1154.
Henry II.

The death of Stephen left an undisputed title for the first time since the death of Edward the Confessor. Henry the Second, descended equally from the Norman conqueror and the old English kings, adopted by Stephen and acknowledged by

the barons, united in himself every kind of title *. A. D. 1154.
 Possessed of all these advantages, the great aim of Henry II.
 his policy was to break the power of his clergy, which each of his predecessors had alternately striven to raise and to depress.

The Constitutions of Clarendon were wisely designed to fix the limits of the secular and ecclesiastical judicature, and formed a basis on which these separate jurisdictions might have been founded, without any diminution of the regal authority. 1164.
 But the articles which were enacted at that famous council prove at once the increasing influence and the extravagant pretensions of the ecclesiastical state. Of the sixteen articles there agreed on, ten were considered by the see of Rome as so hostile to the rights of the clergy, that pope Alexander the Third passed a solemn condemnation on them; the other six he tolerated, not as good, but as less evil. Henry, in spite of the papal censure, procured a confirmation of these articles in a council at Northampton; but, after his first spirited opposition, pusillanimous concession followed. 1176.
 Overcome with shame for the murder of Becket, in which he was implicated, though he did not explicitly concur with the demands of the papacy, yet he desisted from executing those laws for which he had so long contended. The statutes of Clarendon were unrepealed †, but they were suspended by a temporizing connivance of the executive power.

The privileges which the clergy had established Richard I.

* Burke's Abridg. of Eng. History, b. iii. c. 5.

† This is doubtful. It has been said that the Constitutions of Clarendon were repealed. See Reeve's History of Eng. Law, v. i. c. 2, note.

CHAP.
I.

Richard I.
1189.

under Henry the Second were strengthened in the reigns of the two monarchs and brothers who succeeded. Richard the First, whose thirst of military glory was his strongest passion, supplied the sums necessary for his expedition to the Holy Land by the sale of the demesnes of the crown, and of every office under it. The clergy, whose wealth and policy enabled them to take advantage of his necessities, were generally the purchasers of both. But Richard, while he employed these resources in acquiring empty renown, was laid under a stronger obligation to his clergy. It was to ecclesiastical liberality that he was principally indebted for his ransom. The most favoured religious orders were charged on this occasion, and even the most sacred relics were not spared. This generous conduct was not unrewarded: the clergy had every thing to hope from the gratitude of their king, and they were not disappointed in their expectations.

1199.
John.

The reign of John is one of the most remarkable in English history, if we consider the unforeseen revolutions by which it was distinguished. The hereditary title of this prince was untenable, and the clergy took advantage of the circumstance to establish an axiom that the crown was elective. This was publicly affirmed by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, at the coronation; and John, by accepting the sovereignty, tacitly admitted its validity. Authority acquired on a tenure so fragile was exercised in such a manner as to increase its original insecurity. John was alike hated for the tyranny of his government and the vices of his private life. Attacked by the king of France, de-

tested by his nobles and people, he wanted only the hostility of the church to complete his ruin. An occasion soon offered, by which this heaviest calamity was added to his other difficulties. On the death of Hubert, the monks of Canterbury, without asking the royal license, or waiting for the concurrence of the provincial bishops, elected Reginald, their subprior, into the vacancy: the person thus elected immediately proceeded to Rome; but his vanity prematurely revealed the secret. The king, provoked at the transaction, inflicted a severe punishment on the whole monastery; but the sounder part of its members pacified their offended prince by submission. They elected the bishop of Norwich, with the usual license and concurrence, and sent fourteen of their body to Rome, to pray that the first election might be cancelled and the last confirmed. Nothing could be more gratifying to the popes than such appeals; for they knew that contending parties agree in aggrandizing that authority from which they expect a confirmation of their own.

Innocent the Third, the reigning pontiff, decided that the right of election was in the monks; but that their first election of Reginald was informal, and that their second election of the bishop of Norwich was void, because made before the first was annulled. In consequence of these informalities, and by virtue of the canon law, the pope, as universal metropolitan, ordered the deputies of Canterbury, then at Rome, to proceed to a new election. At the same time he recommended Stephen Langton, their countryman, a person of great learning and irreproachable morals. This

A. D.

John.
1203.

CHAP. authoritative request the monks could not oppose;
1. they murmured and submitted.

John.

In England this proceeding was not so easily ratified. John drove the monks of Canterbury from their monastery, and seized their revenues; but Rome had not made so bold a step with an intention to recede. On the refusal of the king to admit Langton, the kingdom was laid under an interdict; the churches were shut, the dead were denied Christian burial, and the living deprived of all spiritual consolation. At length the sentence of excommunication was fulminated against John; his English subjects were released from their oath of allegiance; he was formally deposed from his throne; and Philip, king of France, was invited to take possession of the forfeited crown.

1208.

The unhappy king, wounded by the consciousness of his crimes, hated by his subjects, and excommunicated by the pope, was filled with distraction; and the pontiff was willing to negotiate with an adversary so humbled. An embassy was sent to England, and Pandulph, the legate, was intrusted with the management of the treaty. The artful ecclesiastic drew John on from concession to concession. Langton was to be established in the archiepiscopal chair; the monks of Canterbury, and other deprived ecclesiastics, were to be restored, and a full indemnification was to be made for all their losses. But when the king for so complete a submission expected absolution, the legate declared that there was no way to appease God and the church, but to resign his crown to the holy see. From that sacred authority he should receive it again, purified from its former

stains, and hold it in future by homage and an annual tribute. Surrounded by a complication of difficulties, John saw no other method of extricating himself than by submission. In the presence of a numerous assemblage of his peers and prelates, who turned their eyes from the ignominious sight, he formally resigned his crown, and paid his homage. The last mark of disgrace was not spared. The legate spurned with his foot the proffered tribute, and suffered the crown to remain a long time on the ground before it was restored to the degraded owner.

A. D.

John.

III. Hitherto the papal power had been progressive; but it had now reached its zenith: we now approach a third period in the history of the English church, the era of its declension.

The first check which the see of Rome received proceeded from a quarter where opposition could never have been expected. Whether we regard the station of cardinal Langton, or his personal obligations to the pope, it might be thought that he would have shown himself the intrepid assertor of papal supremacy. But Langton was a true patriot, and his designs for the improvement of the English constitution were marked by liberality and prudence. If Becket had opposed the king through the pope, Langton opposed the pope through the king. In the oath which he administered to John on his absolution, he did not confine himself to ecclesiastical grievances, but extended the oath to the abuses of civil government. John solemnly promised to raise no tax without the consent of his great council, and to punish no man but by the judgment of his court.

1214.

John swore, and violated his oath; but he found

CHAP. that his power of tyrannising was at an end. He
 I. had no foreign alliance among the temporal powers,
 John. and he threw himself on the protection of the pope. He was content to purchase the papal protection by a second resignation of his crown. But Langton, at the head of the friends of civil freedom, loudly exclaimed at this indignity, protested against the resignation, and laid his protestation on the altar.

In vain had John recourse to arms : the barons raised forces, and appointed a leader by the title of marshal of the army of God and holy church. The marshal assumed all the prerogatives of royalty; issued writs summoning the nobles to join the army, threatening equally those who actively adhered to the king, and those who betrayed an indifference to the sacred cause by neutrality. The instrument which the king was compelled to sign is well known by the name of *MAGNA CHARTA*.
 Henry III. 1215.
 15th June. 1225. Deservedly would it have merited this appellation, and justly would it have been endeared to posterity, if it had contained only this single sentence :
 “*ANGLICANA ECCLESIA LIBERA SIT.*”

As the first check to the papal pretensions arose from the barons, under the direction and encouragement of an English archbishop of Canterbury, the second proceeded from the temporal barons, in opposition to the spiritual lords. The barons were licentious in their lives, and their castles were filled with their illegitimate offspring. The surname of bastard in the feudal times was not a dishonourable designation. By the civil as well as by the canon law*, subsequent marriage con-

* It was a constitution of pope Alexander : it is now the law of Scotland.

ferred legitimacy on any previous issue, and rendered it capable of inheritance; while the common law, transmitted from the Saxon age through the Norman and Plantagenet lines, stamped on illegitimacy an indelible stain. The bishops, as partisans of the pope, were anxious to introduce the whole code of the pontifical law, and selected this article as best fitted to effect their purpose. They proposed to the barons met in parliament that issue born before wedlock should be legitimate; but the barons had sufficient discernment to reject the proposition, however gratifying, and patriotically sacrificed their inclinations to preserve the liberties of their country. Their answer to the proposal of the bishops was conveyed in that phrase of large and convenient application: "*NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIÆ MUTARI* *."

A. D.

Henry III.

In the preceding instances, the opposition to ecclesiastical usurpation proceeded from the barons, unaided by the crown; but in the next instance, it originated in the monarch himself. Edward the First, to whom the laws of England are so much indebted that he has been called the English Justinian, had the honour of interposing the regal power to withstand the encroachments of the Romish see. His projects were long in arriving at maturity; their effects at first were scarcely perceptible, and probably were not contemplated even by himself; but they contained within them the germ of the reformation.

Edward I.

* "*Rogaverunt omnes episcopi ut consentirent quod nati ante matrimonium essent legitimi, et omnes comites et barones unâ voce responderunt quod nolunt leges Angliæ mutari.*"—Coke on Littleton, l. iii. c. vi s. 40.

CHAP.

I.

Edward I.

It is in his reign that the rude outline of an English convocation is first discernible. Synods of the higher clergy, both secular and monastic, were of early institution, and of frequent recurrence; but it was not till then that the diocesan clergy were recognised as a part of the national synod assembled in a representative capacity. At a council holden at Reading, in the seventh year of his reign, it was enacted, that at least two representatives, chosen by the clergy of every bishopric, should attend. The purpose for which their attendance was required was declared to be, not only to redress grievances, or to grant subsidies, but to deliberate concerning the general welfare of the church*. No measure was so admirably calculated to form a barrier against the usurpations of a foreign spiritual power as a national and a representative convocation.

This was far from being the only or the most important measure of Edward the First for reducing the papal supremacy: he attempted to repress that pernicious custom of enriching foreigners with the ecclesiastical property of England. This custom, introduced and sanctioned by the see of Rome, was afterwards called provision, as the persons who committed the abuse were called provisors. Though these names were not imposed till a future reign, yet the abuse existed in this, and a statute was enacted for its remedy†. It

* “Item præcepimus ut veniant duo electi ad minus a clero episcopatum singulorum, qui auctoritatem habeant una nobiscum, tractare de his quæ ecclesiæ communi utilitati expediunt Anglicanæ, etiamsi de conturbatione aliqua vel expensis oporteat fieri mentionem.”—Lynwode.

† Entitled, de Asportatis Religiosorum, 35 Ed. I. st. 1,

was therein represented that governors of religious houses, and certain aliens their superiors, were accustomed to lay impositions upon monasteries and houses in subjection to them, so that much of the opulence originally intended for religious service, for the support of the poor, sick, and feeble, and for the maintenance of hospitality, was conveyed out of the kingdom. To prevent this evil, it was enacted, that no religious person whatsoever should, under any pretext, send this tax out of the kingdom, under pain of being grievously punished for a contempt of the king's injunctions.

A. D.
1279.

Edward I.

The reign of Edward the Second, from the weakness of the executive power, is inconsiderable in the ecclesiastical history of England. The clergy, who had been reduced to some degree of subordination in the preceding reign, began to revive their former claims of exemption from secular control: but the lengthened reign of Edward the Third fills a distinguished space in the national annals.

Edward II.

It is in this reign that the parliament is supposed to have assumed its present form, by a separation of the commons from the lords*. It is in this reign also that the outline of an English convocation, obscurely to be traced in the reign of the first Edward, was filled up. As the two houses of parliament originally sat together, so did the two houses of convocation; but when the commons were withdrawn from the peers, the inferior clergy were separated from the prelates. The bishops

* Hallam, Middle Ages, places this event in the 11th of Edw. I.

CHAP.
I.
Edward II.

having a double capacity, as spiritual governors and temporal barons, sat both in the upper house of parliament and the upper house of convocation; but in other respects these two legislative bodies were not only distinct, but preserved an analogy in their constitution. In the upper house of convocation were placed the bishops, and not only the mitred abbots, who, in right of their baronies, had a seat in the temporal parliament, but the heads of the other monastic communities. The lower house consisted of the deans, archdeacons, and the proctors of the clergy, whether capitular, or parochial, or collegiate. The lower house of convocation, like the temporal commons, chose its prolocutor, who moderated their debates, and was their organ in delivering their sentiments, or asserting their privileges *. Bills of subsidy and grievances began usually in the lower house; and, in matters of jurisdiction, the upper house gave sentence, while the lower house prosecuted. The time of their meeting was most commonly concurrently with that of the parliament; the proctors of convocation were elected in the same manner as the knights of the shires; and the lower house of convocation was styled, both in the rolls of parliament and in the

* This was the custom of the province of Canterbury: the province of York had also its synod; but it consisted only of one house. A correspondence was maintained between the synods of the two provinces; and the same subjects which had been deliberated in the synod of Canterbury were afterwards debated by the synod of York. To prevent a disagreement between the two synods, proctors were sometimes deputed from the province of York to the convocation of the province of Canterbury, and thus the whole English church was represented in one assembly.

registers of convocation, the commons spiritual of the realm *.

A. D.
1327.

Resistance against papal encroachment was now become more formidable, because it was carried on by all the estates of the realm, with the king at their head. Since the time of Edward the First, the abuse of provisions had so much increased that, during the minority of Edward the Third, a petition was framed by the commons, praying that no alien provisor, nor any procurator for him, should enter or depart from the realm, in order to prosecute any provision, under pain of life and member; but the further consideration of the matter was reserved until the king should be of age †. No further legislative proceeding appears to have been adopted till many years afterwards, when the parliament enacted two statutes against provisors ‡.

Edw. III.

The first of these statutes fully defined the nature and grounds of the offence, and the necessity of its prevention. It opened with a recitation that the church of England was founded by the king and nobles of the realm, for their instruction and that of the people, and for the purposes of hospitality and charity. It proceeded to state, that for these purposes large revenues had been appropriated to prelates and other beneficiaries, from which resulted the right of collation and presentation claimed by the king and his nobles; and that the higher orders of the clergy constituted a considerable part of the king's great council, to advise him

* Atterbury on Convocations.

† Parl. Rot. 1 Ed. III. 26.

‡ Stat. 25 Ed. I. 6, and 27 Ed. III. 1.

CHAP. in national affairs. This being the nature and
 I. condition of the English church, it was considered
 1327. a great grievance that the bishop of Rome, AC-
 Edw. III. CROACHING to himself the seigniories of such pos-
 sessions and benefices, granted them to aliens who
 never dwelt in England, to cardinals who, by the
 rule of their order, never could dwell there, and
 to others, as well aliens and denizens, as if he were
 the patron, and had the advowson of such digni-
 ties and benefices, contrary to the known law of
 the kingdom. It went on to declare that, if the
 practice were not abolished, there would be scarcely
 a benefice in the kingdom that would not be in
 the hands of foreigners, to the entire perversion
 of the ends for which ecclesiastical establishments
 were founded.

1352. An observance of this statute was enforced by
 severe penalties, and the prosecution of appeals at
 Rome gave rise to a second law against provisors.
 It was enacted, that if any persons, owing allegiance
 to the king, should draw any plea out of the realm,
 the cognizance of which belonged to the king's
 court, they should, after due admonition and dis-
 obedience to such warning, be put out of the king's
 protection, and be subjected to forfeiture of goods
 and imprisonment.

In vain did the see of Rome express its resent-
 ment at these measures. When Urban the Fifth
 attempted to revive the vassalage and annual rent
 to which king John had submitted, it was unani-
 mously agreed, by all the estates of the realm in
 parliament assembled, that king John's donation
 was null and void, being without the concurrence
 of parliament, and contrary to his coronation oath.

The temporal nobility and the commons engaged that, if the pope should endeavour, by process or otherwise, to maintain these usurpations, they would withstand him to the utmost of their power*. A. D. _____
Edw. III.

The popedom sustained, in this reign, a still more dangerous attack from an individual than it received even from an English king and parliament. This individual was Wiclif. Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln†, in the preceding century, had powerfully inveighed against the tyranny of the pope, both civil and spiritual: Wiclif followed in the same track, and with greater success. 1366.

Of the English reformation Wiclif was not only the precursor but the prototype‡. He opposed the Romish church in the manner in which the separation of England from its communion was afterwards effected: he first renounced its jurisdiction, and then confuted its doctrinal corruptions. Standing in this conspicuous view, it is necessary to give a more particular relation of his character and actions. 1324.

Educated at Merton College§, in the university of Oxford, Wiclif pursued with assiduity all the studies usually cultivated in that famous seat of learning. Having penetrated the depths of the Aristotelian philosophy, and the subtilties of meta-

* Selden in Fleta.

† This prelate was excommunicated by pope Innocent IV.; but it is said of him, "excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Christi."—Henr. de Knyghton. lib. 2, inter Scriptores X.

‡ There has been published, An Apology for John Wiclif, showing his Conformity with the Church of England. By Thomas James, Keeper of the Bodleian Library. Oxford, 1708.

§ He was for a short time a commoner in Queen's College.—Lewis's Life of Wiclif.

CHAP. I. physical theology, he acquired an accurate know-
 ledge of law, civil, canon, and municipal*. While,
 Edw. III. however, in these branches of knowledge he was
 equalled by many of his contemporaries, in one of
 the greatest importance he excelled them all, or
 rather stood in solitary pre-eminence. The title
 of Evangelical Doctor, by which he was commonly
 distinguished, at once proves his proficiency in
 scriptural learning, and also the rarity of its attain-
 ment.

Being promoted to the mastership of Balliol-
 hall, he soon attracted the attention and secured
 the gratitude of the university by defending its
 privileges against the encroachments of the men-
 dicant friars. These had so increased in numbers
 and importance that they claimed an exemption
 from academical discipline: they enticed the youth
 from the colleges into the convents, and incited
 them to disaffection and rebellion. From Balliol,
 1360. Wiclif, by the special appointment of the founder †,
 was removed to the wardenship of Canterbury-
 hall; but the death of his patron prevented him
 1365. Dec. 14. from a quiet enjoyment of the promotion. Lang-
 ham, the successor of Islip in the see of Can-
 1367. terbury, and as such the visitor of Canterbury-
 hall, ejected Wiclif from the wardenship. Wiclif,
 and three other fellows expelled with him, ap-
 pealed to the pope against a proceeding at once
 illegal and unjust: but, after a tedious delay of
 three or four years, a definitive sentence of pope
 Urban the Fifth confirmed what Langham had
 done.

* Lewis's Life of Wiclif, c. 1.

† Simon de Islip, archbishop of Canterbury.

That this ungenerous treatment first incited A. D.
 Wiclif to a systematic hostility against the papal ———
 hierarchy is the unfounded insinuation of his ene- Edw. III.
 mies; because it is certain that for many years
 before his deprivation, he had opposed the court
 of Rome in its practice of granting provisors to
 ecclesiastical benefices. That his deprivation, and
 its confirmation by the pope, irritated a temper
 naturally warm, there is no occasion to deny.

The deprivation of Wiclif, and his public dis-
 putation with a monk in defence of the regal pre-
 rogative, introduced him to the notice of the court,
 and particularly of the duke of Lancaster, the king's
 brother. He now was advanced to the doctorate, 1372.
 and in his public lectures at Oxford exposed the
 corruptions of the friars, imputing to them all the
 errors and calamities of the Christian church. So
 high was his reputation, that he was joined in
 an embassy to treat with the pope's nuncios, at
 Bruges, "concerning the liberties of the church 1374.
 of England."

It is not improbable that Wiclif, by being con-
 cerned in this treaty, became more intimately ac-
 quainted than before with the corruptions of the
 Romish see. On his return he inveighed against
 the whole papal hierarchy with the greatest bold-
 ness. He exposed both the covetousness and am-
 bition of the pope, and also his encroachments on
 the regal prerogative; and he reprov'd freely the
 vices of the clergy, both secular and monastic. It
 was an observation of his, "that the abomination
 of desolation has its beginning from a perverse
 clergy, as comfort arises from a converted clergy*."

* Dialog. fol.

CHAP.
I.

Edw. III.
1375.

1376.

1377.
May 22.

1377.
June 21.
ob.

While he was employed by the king in his embassy to Bruges, he was collated to a prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury, and to the rectory of Lutterworth. Having retired from the university, he resided on his benefice, where he performed the office of a diligent and edifying pastor, preaching constantly not only on Sundays but on all the festivals of the church. But as soon as he had begun in his public lectures to oppose the papal usurpations, and to defend the royal supremacy, a prosecution was instituted against him at Rome. The articles of accusation were sixteen, of which the first five related to the temporal dominion claimed by the pope; and the others to what is called the power of the keys.

As soon as the pope had received these articles, he despatched several bulls of the same date to Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, bishop of London, whom he delegated to examine into the complaint; and also to the king himself, and to the university of Oxford. Before these instruments could reach England, Edward the Third was dead; the university of Oxford, after debating if the papal communication should not be rejected with disgrace, received it in silence; but the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, proceeded to execute the mandate of the apostolic see.

Notwithstanding the precarious authority which Richard the Second held among his contending nobles, he began his reign with maintaining the laws enacted by his predecessor against the usurpations of the pope. In his first parliament it was debated whether the kingdom of England, on an

imminent necessity, might not detain the annual tribute paid to the pope under the name of Peter-pence. The resolution of this doubt was referred by the king and parliament to Wiclif, who decided that the tribute might be detained lawfully, and that it was not a debt, but a charitable donation. The same parliament also petitioned the king that the statutes against provisors should be enforced; that the treaty of king Edward the Third, concerning the pope's reservation to ecclesiastical dignities, should be maintained; and that all aliens, as well religious as others, should be sent out of the realm.

A. D.
1377.

This conduct of the parliament was viewed by the bishops with jealousy and apprehension. That they might express their dissent with more safety to themselves, and in a manner less offensive to the temporality, they caused a protestation to be enrolled on behalf of themselves and the clergy, wherein they declared that they intended not to assent to any statute made in derogation of the pope's authority, but would utterly withstand the same.

Fortified by such powerful allies as the king and parliament, protected also by the university of Oxford, Wiclif had no reluctance to appear before the pope's delegates. Attended by the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henry Percy, the earl-marshal, he repaired to the cathedral church of Saint Paul, where the delegates sat. The first session was only remarkable for the firm yet intemperate conduct of Lancaster towards the bishop of London. At the second session, Wiclif is said to have delivered a written answer to the articles alleged

CHAP. against him. But though his explanation was not
 I. satisfactory to the delegates, they were contented
 1378. with dismissing him, after enjoining him not to
 repeat such propositions either in the schools or in
 his sermons. Besides his answers to the delegates,
 April 5. he presented a defence of his opinions to the par-
 liament which met at the beginning of this year.

In consequence of the death of Gregory the
 Eleventh, and the disagreement of the cardinals
 on the choice of a successor, Wiclif was permitted
 to retire to Lutterworth. There he continued to
 expose the Romish court and the vices of the
 clergy, and there he proceeded with an under-
 taking to which he had long devoted himself, a
 translation of the Holy Scriptures into English.
 This, it seems, had not been done before; or, if
 some parts of the sacred writings had been ren-
 dered into English for private use, they had never
 been published in that language. The clamours
 raised against him on this occasion were great,
 and they were increased when he commenced his
 attack on the doctrinal errors of the Romish
 church.

Though Wiclif resided chiefly at Lutterworth,
 yet he did not relinquish his connexion with
 Oxford. In a course of theological lectures which
 he delivered there, he confuted the popish doctrine
 of transubstantiation, and maintained the true and
 ancient notion of the Lord's supper. For this
 end, he proposed twelve conclusions on the sub-
 ject; of which the first was, "that the consecrated
 host, which we see upon the altar, is neither Christ,
 nor any part of him, but an effectual sign of him."

Not being suffered to defend his conclusions in the schools, he published his opinions on the nature of the eucharist in a treatise. A. D.
1381.

The opposition of Wiclif to the doctrine of transubstantiation deprived him of the protection of the university of Oxford. The chancellor, on the publication of these conclusions, condemned them in a formal decree. Wiclif, having unsuccessfully appealed against the chancellor to the parliament, was cited before Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, and several other bishops, first at London and then at Oxford. Besides the opinions which he avowedly maintained, others were charged on him, which he disclaimed. While, therefore, in his confession he was anxious to exculpate himself from errors which he did not hold, he openly maintained his opinion of the sacrament, declared his resolution to defend it with his blood, and censured the contrary doctrine as heresy. 1382.

The conclusions which were assigned to Wiclif by his enemies, as well as those which he really maintained, were indiscriminately condemned. His followers and favourers were pronounced to be excommunicated; and, by virtue of the king's letters to the chancellor, he was ultimately expelled from the university of Oxford.

Thus driven from the university, he retired to his benefice, and to the end of his life laboured in the cause for which he had suffered. Had Providence prolonged his days, he would have been exposed to new dangers; but death terminated his exertions and his trials. His fervent piety and his unblemished morals, the most inveterate of his enemies have not dared to question; while the 1384.

CHAP.
I.

vigour of his mind, and the extent of his learning, have been sufficiently and even liberally acknowledged*.

To connect the history of the English church with the biography of Wiclif, is not to invest that celebrated individual with an importance beyond his merits. His influence on the public transactions of that period was greater than is commonly supposed, and the progress of religious knowledge may be estimated from the support, as well as from the opposition, which he experienced. As long as he defended the regal prerogative against the usurped jurisdiction of the pope, so long he had the countenance of the duke of Lancaster, and so long was he supported by the king and parliament. But when he ventured to dispute against the common notion of the real presence, he was deserted by his powerful friends, and his appeal to the parliament for protection against ecclesiastical censure was rejected†.

At this period may be discerned a distinction established by the legislature between the temporal authority of the pope, and the doctrines of the Romish church: the first was opposed, the second was defended by legal penalties. At the time when Wiclif was condemned for his doctrinal opinions, the laws against the papal jurisdiction were strengthened and renewed. By the act commonly called the statute of “*præmunire*‡,” the penalties of im-

* By archbishop Arundel, who said, Wiclif was a great clerk, and many held him a perfect liver. *Lewis's Life of Wiclif*, c. vii. note.

† He delivered an appeal to the parliament holden in 1382.

‡ 16 Rich. II. c. 5.

prisonment and forfeiture of goods were inflicted on all who procured at Rome processes, bulls, or any other instruments, in prejudice of the rights of the crown. This famous statute was introduced with a preamble, stating that all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, had been singly asked, whether they would support the king in maintaining his authority against the bulls of the pope. The temporal lords declared such an interference to be a violation of the ancient law, and promised that they would stand by the king to live or die. The prelates went not so far; they avowed their determination to resist the papal sentences of excommunication against any one for executing the processes of the king's courts, but with a reservation of their opinion as to the general rights of the apostolic see.

A. D.
1393.

It is impossible to pass over the reign of Henry the Fourth, without noticing its distinguishing feature, that at this period were enacted the last statute against provisors*, and the first against heresy†. The Wiclifites, or, as they were commonly styled, the Lollards‡, by their lives and doctrines, as well as by their numbers, had become a terror and a reproach to the higher orders of the clergy. They had their separate places of religious worship, and their increase is attested by a

Henry IV.
1399.

* 2 Hen. IV. c. 3.

† 2 Hen. IV. c. 15.

‡ The derivation of this name is doubtful. Some derive it from Walter Lollard, a German; but our canonist Lynwode from the Latin word, lolium, cockle; because as that weed injures the wheat, the Lollards corrupted the faithful in the church. Lewis's Life of Pecoek, c. i.

CHAP. I.
1403. popish historian*, who says, that if two persons were met travelling on the road, it was most probable that one of them was a Wiclifite.

At the accession of Henry the Fourth, there was no temporal law against heresy; for a statute surreptitiously obtained in the preceding reign had been repealed. But the first king of the Lancastrian line had been so materially assisted by his clergy in gaining the crown, that he consented, at their instigation, to adopt the most rigorous measures against the Lollards. Their assemblies, in the language of the statute, were stigmatized as confederacies of sedition and insurrection. To prevent them from teaching heretical doctrines, all persons who had any books or writings of the Lollards were commanded to deliver them to their diocesan, and those who refused or neglected to do so were to be arrested and committed to prison. The ordinary was allowed to proceed against such offenders; and in case of their refusal to abjure their errors, they were to be burnt, to the example and terror of others.

From the early part of the reign of this prince, to the beginning of the succeeding reign, there was a schism in the popedom. The papal dominions and the papal attributes were disputed by rival claimants, who were obliged to seek protection from the temporal powers of Christendom. The kingdoms of Europe were divided; some espousing the cause of the popes at Rome, and others acknowledging the popes at Avignon. England, in

* Knyghton

opposition to France, adhered to the popes at Rome.

A. D.
1413.

Henry V.

The military reign of Henry the Fifth was remarkable for the rigour with which the Lollards were pursued by the secular power, in subserviency to the ecclesiastical. This period, disgraced by the prosecution of lord Cobham, presents in its judicial history a melancholy record of ecclesiastical tyranny. A statute passed soon after the accession of this prince* enacted, that the magistrates should use their whole power and diligence to destroy all heresies and errors, only they were enjoined not to postpone the king's service to that of the church. In the preamble of the statute, the Lollards were loaded with the imputation of state crimes; they were described as united in a confederacy to destroy the king and all the other estates of the realm, both lay and spiritual, "all manner of policy, and finally the laws of the land."

When the schism in the popedom was at an end, the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster began; and the pontiffs embraced this occasion of reassuming all their former claims over England. In the reign of the feeble-minded Henry the Sixth, the pope† asserted all the prerogatives of his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter. He wrote to Chichele, then raised to the see of Canterbury, remonstrating with the archbishop for his remissness in maintaining the rights of the apostolic see, and condemning in the strongest language the statute of "præmunire." Chichele was exhorted to imitate the example of Saint Thomas of

Henry VI.

1426.

* 2 Hen. V. st. I. c. 7.

† Martin V.

CHAP.

I.

1426.

Canterbury, the holy martyr, in asserting the rights of the church ; and was farther required to declare at the next parliament the unlawfulness of that statute, and to denounce excommunication against all who obeyed it. The clergy of England also were commanded to preach against a law so offensive to the see of Rome.

Chichele, being tardy in his compliance with this admonition, and having unwarily said, “ that the pope’s zeal in this matter was that he might raise much money out of England,” was punished by suspension from his legatine functions. The pope then, in an epistle addressed to both archbishops, pronounced the statutes of Edward the Third, and Richard the Second, void. All who presumed to put them in force, or to obey them, were subjected to the greater excommunication, not to be remitted but by the pope himself. Not satisfied with this letter to the two archbishops, he directed his remonstrances to the king and parliament. In his letter to the parliament, he said, that no man who obeyed these statutes could possibly obtain salvation, and demanded their repeal under pain of damnation.

The archbishop of Canterbury, in his own justification, appealed against the injustice of his suspension to the next general council, or to the tribunal of God and Jesus Christ. He wrote to the pope in the most submissive terms, protesting that he had done, and would do, all in his power to procure the repeal of those obnoxious laws. He had heard of the sentence of suspension pronounced against him, a proceeding unknown from the days of Augustin to that time. But he added, that the

sentence was known to him only by report, since the bulls containing it had, by the king's command, remained sealed and unopened until the parliament should assemble.

A. D.

Henry VI.

The parliament, which met at the beginning of the next year, afforded the primate an opportunity of testifying his obedience to the pope, without any dereliction of his duty to his king and country. Attended by the archbishop of York, and several other prelates, he went from the house of lords to the refectory of the abbey of Westminster, where the commons usually sat. There he made a long oration, in the form of a sermon, on the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's." He began with a protestation that neither himself nor his brethren intended to maintain any doctrine derogatory from the king. He alleged many arguments to prove the divine right of the pope to grant provisions, and exhorted the commons to give to the holy father the desired satisfaction. With tears in his eyes he depicted the calamities which the country must suffer by an interdict, a calamity which would certainly happen if the satisfaction were not granted.

1427.

The oratory of the archbishop appears to have been exerted in vain on the House of Commons; for they would pass no act either of repeal or explanation. It was effectual only in mitigating the resentment of the pope against himself; for he was soon afterwards restored to the exercise of his legatine functions.

Thus stood the laws relative to the papal jurisdiction and the punishment of heresy, until the

CHAP.

I.

time of Henry the Eighth. The statutes of “provisors” and of “*præmunire*” were unrepealed; but their execution was suspended, and, like other obsolete penal statutes, they were a snare to the unwary. After having long slumbered, their resuscitation was intended not to redress those evils for which they were originally framed, but to punish an incautious violation of their enactments. But the statutes against heresy were vigorously and almost unremittingly enforced; as the Wiclifites increased in numbers, the ecclesiastical and civil government increased in severity.

1485.

The tyrannical reign of Richard the Third gave occasion to Henry, earl of Richmond, to assert his title to the crown; a title the most remote and unaccountable that was ever pretended, and which nothing but the general detestation of Richard could have rendered plausible. The manifest defectiveness of this title, as well as a superstitious bias, inclined him to preserve the friendship of the Romish see. The liberality of his policy has been too highly praised; for his chief aim was to extort money from his subjects, and to amass treasure in the royal coffers *. His ecclesiastical policy will not admit of vindication: while he permitted his nobles to alienate their lands, he increased the wealth and privileges of the monasteries; aggravating thereby the evils of the monastic system, by disarranging the balance between the temporal and spiritual seigniories. The statutes of “provisors” and “*præmunire*” were violated by the king himself; for, in defiance of these laws, he promoted foreigners to the most lucrative bishoprics.

* Blackstone's Com. v. 4. c. 23.

The time was, however, fast approaching when A. D.
a new order of things was to take place, which _____
Henry did not foresee, and which, had he fore- Hen. VIII.
seen, he could not have prevented. The invention
of the art of printing had given a new direction
to the human mind, and disposed it to seek after
and embrace religious truth : that learning which,
in the first ages, had been perverted to corrupt
Christianity, was now employed to restore and
purify it *. All circumstances concurred to pro-
mote that great revolution in the civil and religious
world, which the adherents of the Romish church
alone stigmatize as the grand schism; but which,
under the blessing of Divine Providence, and
through the predominance of protestant principle,
is known to us under no other name than THE
REFORMATION.

* Bishop Warburton.

CHAPTER II.

State of Europe at the Beginning of the 16th Century.—Of England and the Church.—Character of Warham.—Of Wolsey, and his Attempt to gain the Popedom.—Election of Clement VII.—His Quarrel with the Emperor Charles V. and Imprisonment.—His Escape to Orvieto.—Suit of Henry VIII. in the Consistory of Rome for a Divorce from Catherine of Arragon.—State of that Question.—A Commission of Legation to try the Cause in England.—Progress of the Trial, and Avocation of the Cause to Rome.

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II.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century is an era celebrated in the Christian church for the revival of learning, and the reformation of religion. It is an era on which the cultivated mind loves to dwell, deriving from its contemplation a pleasure not abated by any difference of religious opinion, but on the contrary rendered more lively and intense.

The votary of the church of Rome looks back with fondness and regret on the period when, if her authority was not the most despotic, her subjects were the most enlightened; when Leo gave fresh zeal to that ardour for knowledge which had for some ages been spreading over Europe*; and when the classical pen of Bembo and Sadoletto announced to the European states the epistles and rescripts of the apostolical chamber. With exultation he enumerates the distinguished characters

* Mills's Theodore Ducas, vol. i. c. 1.

which adorned the court of the Medicean pontiff, and concludes that the popedom was not an empire built on the foundation of ignorance, since it materially contributed to the restoration of the fine arts, of abstruse science, and of polite literature. A. D.

Hen. VIII.

On the other hand, the protestant hails this period with an enthusiasm more chastened, but scarcely less ardent. In the boasted splendour of the Romish court, he sees the downfall of the Romish church. It was a splendour which, instead of dazzling the eyes of dispassionate inquirers, illustrated all the errors of the papal system. The prodigal magnificence of Leo was more ruinous to its interests, than the repulsive vices of his predecessors, than the ambition of Julius, or the cruelty of Alexander.

While the Romanist and the reformer unite in praising the “golden days” of Leo, their attention is attracted to those other personages who, in a more narrow sphere, influenced the progress of religious opinion. The sovereignty of the European continent was at this time disputed and divided by the powers of France and Spain. Their monarchs had contested the imperial crown, and the success of Charles over the pretensions of Francis had placed an insurmountable barrier between himself and his disappointed rival. Neither of these princes was an unconcerned spectator of the changes in religion; but at this period their chief object was chivalrous renown and military conquest. They were now at the beginning of their career; Francis pursuing it with the vigorous steadiness of manhood, Charles with the unrestrained impetuosity of youth.

CHAP.
II.

And this period comprises the early part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, the only part on which it is possible for the mind to rest with complacency. He now sustained his place in that triumvirate of sovereigns which guided the affairs of the civilized world, alternately the friend and the enemy of Francis and of Charles, but a competitor in the lists of fame with both. As yet his vices were those of prosperity and youth. He had not yet made the common transition from careless voluptuousness to callous ferocity; he had not yet reached that point of uncontrolled indulgence when "he spared neither man in his hate, nor woman in his lust." The professor of any Christian sect can view him with indulgence, when, in the pride of scholastic theology, he presented his treatise on the sacraments to the accomplished Leo, and, as the meed of his labours, bore away the envied title of "Defender of the Faith." But humanity as well as religion recoils at the enormities of his latter days, when he incurred the disgrace of apostasy without the merit of conversion; when he was alike disclaimed by protestant and papist, for both were the objects of his unrelenting persecution.

1509
to
1524.

At no period was the submission of England to the see of Rome more unlimited, than at the beginning of Henry's reign. In his treatise on the sacraments, he had advanced the papal power far beyond the enactments of law and the prescription of regal prerogative*, and when such a tone was given to the religious sentiments of his people by

* Life of Sir Thomas More, in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. ii.

the sovereign himself, it might be expected that the English prelacy would not be slow in following the example.

A. D.
1509
to
1524.

The see of Canterbury was at this time filled by Warham, whose devotedness to the church in which he was educated was not less strict than conscientious. He had been elevated to his high station by Henry the Seventh, and under that prince united with the archiepiscopal dignity the office of lord chancellor. In the learning then chiefly in repute he was learned, for he was eminently skilled in the canon law. Though tinctured with the severity of the age against innovation in matters of religion, yet when Colet, the dean of Saint Paul's, was judicially accused before him for preaching against existing superstitions and the vices of the clergy, he interposed his authority, and dismissed the accusation. But as the friend and protector of Erasmus, Warham will be most honourably remembered by posterity. The biographer of that ornament of literature* could not receive from his patron† a more gratifying and decisive testimony than the assurance, "I will be to you what Warham was to Erasmus."

Second to Warham in the English church, but first in ecclesiastical dignity, and infinitely higher in political importance, stood Wolsey. To attempt a delineation of his character would insensibly lead to the adoption of the sentiment and phraseology of our great dramatic poet, whose genius was never more happily employed than in refining the rugged but sterling ore of the British chronicles. Of

* Jortin

† Archbishop Herring.

CHAP. thought and diction so universally admired, it is
 II. useless to be a faithful copyist, it is irksome to be
 a tolerable imitator, it is impossible to be an undetected plagiarist.

1513. Leaving this masterly portraiture of Wolsey untouched, it is sufficient to describe his actual situation as a statesman and an ecclesiastic. He had been promoted by Henry the Seventh to the deanery of Lincoln*, and his preferment as one of the king's chaplains introduced him to the early notice of Henry the Eighth. In the war which took place between England and France, for the preservation of the balance of power, he displayed such ability and address, while he attended the young king, that he soon received the highest marks of royal favour. He was appointed by Henry, bishop of Tournay in France, while that city was in possession of the English forces; on the king's return, he was appointed bishop of Lincoln, and soon afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York.

This was the height of his ecclesiastical preferment in England; but his influence with the court of Rome, joined with the reputation acquired by Henry there as defender of the faith, procured for him an admission into the sacred college. Raised to the rank of a cardinal, he was constituted the pope's special legate over the realm of England, and by virtue of this commission he asserted an authority over the province of Canterbury, and often cited its clergy to assemble in a synod. After

* He was collated to that dignity, Feb. 2, 1508. Le Neve's Fasti.

a few ineffectual struggles, Warham was compelled to submit to his more powerful rival, and also to resign to him the office of lord chancellor.

A. D.
1513.

Hen. VIII.

Wolsey was now the chief minister of England ; but from the time of his admission into the conclave his ambitious views were ultimately fixed on Rome. His aim was the chair of Saint Peter, and to the attainment of his wishes he rendered subservient both the alliances and the enmities of his own country. At home, even the papacy could confer on him no accession of power ; he was indeed “*papa alterius orbis.*” In defiance of the statutes of “*provisors*” and “*præmunire*” he granted institution to benefices throughout the kingdom, without the consent of the bishop of the diocese, and solely by virtue of his legatine commission. But in his own person he concentrated no inconsiderable portion of the episcopal jurisdiction, and of the episcopal revenues of the kingdom. Besides the see of York, he had commendatory possession of the wealthy bishopric of Durham, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Winchester. The bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford were held by foreigners, contrary to the laws ; and these sees he had in farm, paying to their nominal possessors an annual pension, and reserving to himself the disposal of all the benefices within their dioceses.

Invested with these high powers during the splendid pontificate of Leo, and the short pontificate of Adrian, Wolsey, on the death of the latter, entertained a sanguine, and not an unreasonable expectation, of grasping the object which he had so long and eagerly pursued. The emperor had

1523.

CHAP.
II.

promised to favour his pretensions; and it is not to be doubted that Henry laboured with cordiality in promoting the advancement of his favourite minister. Wolsey himself, whatever might be his secret inclinations, took care to disguise them. While the election was in suspense, though he secretly instructed his agents to spare neither bribes nor promises, yet he outwardly displayed no symptoms of anxiety. He not only declared his unfitness for the high office, but his disinclination to leave the service of his royal master*; and when the election was decided against him, he sent his congratulations to Henry on the election of the cardinal de Medicis, as an event for which the king and kingdom of England had cause to thank Almighty God†.

These warm professions on the part of Wolsey were returned by the new pope with substantial marks of kindness and esteem. The legatine powers of the cardinal of York over England were enlarged, and confirmed to him during the term of his life, and he was actually invested with papal jurisdiction over his native country.

Clement the Seventh was indebted, for his advancement to the popedom, partly to the interest of the Medicean family, and the aversion of the people of Rome to another ultra-montane pontiff, after their experience of Adrian; and partly to

* "I repute myself right unmeet and unable to so high a dignity, desiring much rather to demure, continue and end my life with your grace, than to be ten popes." Letter of Wolsey to Henry VIII. Sept. 30, 1523. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. Appendix, b. i. No. 7.

† Fiddes's Life of Wolsey.

the support of the emperor Charles the Fifth. A. D.
1525.
 High expectations were formed of one whose great talents and experience in business seemed to qualify him for defending the spiritual interests of the church, endangered by the progress of Lutheran doctrines, and also for conducting its political operations at a very critical juncture*.

Hen. VIII.

The ecclesiastical state, though defended by the formidable artillery of spiritual censures, was never of the highest rank among the European powers. In any war, it could never be a principal, but might be a highly useful auxiliary. It was under the necessity of concealing or sustaining its real weakness, by throwing its weight into the scale of one out of two contending parties; and its policy was to support the weakest.

Clement, who had hitherto been attached to the emperor, both by interest and gratitude, no sooner witnessed the decisive battle of Pavia, and the consequent treaty of Madrid, than he became jealous of the imperial power. Joining himself with the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the king of England, he openly went over to the cause of Francis. A league was formed against the emperor by these different states, which was dignified by the title of Holy, because the pope was at its head, and of which the king of England was declared the protector.

1525.

1526.

The imprudence of Clement in entering into such a treaty, corresponded with the general timidity and insincerity of his character. Charles, incensed at his duplicity and ingratitude, resolved to inflict

* Guicciard. Hist. It. l. 15.

CHAP.
II.

on him a signal punishment. Through the family of Colonna, the most powerful of all the Roman barons, the emperor was enabled to carry the war to the gates of Rome. The Colonnas became masters of the city, and did not leave it until they had gained from Clement a promise to withdraw his troops from the confederation.

But no sooner had the papal forces returned from Lombardy than Clement excommunicated the whole family of Colonna, seized their possessions, and wasted their lands, with all the cruelty which the sense of a recent injury naturally excites. He then turned his thoughts towards Naples, and, seconded by the French fleet, made some progress towards the conquest of that kingdom.

Charles was now provoked beyond endurance. The imperial forces, under the command of Bourbon, marched to the gates of Rome, which opposed but a feeble resistance. Clement, after some ineffectual military preparations, and after fulminating an excommunication at his enemies, was obliged to capitulate on such terms as the victorious imperialists thought fit to impose, and was imprisoned by the emperor's command, in the castle of Saint Angelo.

The different powers of Europe, and especially those which constituted the Holy League, saw with indignation and dismay the outrage committed against the church in the person of its supreme head. Nor was the pope deficient in using every art to excite their compassion, and engage their aid. In concise but moving terms he wrote to cardinal Wolsey, excusing himself from entering into a detail of his misfortunes, as they could be

more clearly explained by sir Gregory Cassali, the English ambassador at Rome. His sole confidence and consolation was now reposed on the friendship of the cardinal, and on the devoted attachment of the king of England to the holy see.

A. D.
1527.

Wolsey, animated as well by sympathy towards the pope, as by personal resentment against the emperor, was not inattentive to the application. A negotiation was immediately opened with Francis, and conducted by Wolsey in person, of which the liberation of the pope was a leading article. A new league was formed; and though the king of England supplied no troops, he liberally contributed pecuniary aid. An army was raised, of which the French general Lautrec was appointed commander; and the Florentine and Venetian forces having united with the French, Lautrec advanced as far as Milan, in his progress towards the capital of Italy.

In the mean time, Charles, alarmed at the approach of the confederates, thought it fit to treat with the pope concerning his liberation. The conditions prescribed by the emperor were hard, but not more rigorous than the captive pontiff had reason to expect. One hundred thousand crowns were actually paid by Clement before the day was fixed for his release; a sum which he raised by the sale of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and by other methods equally uncanonical. A second sum of one hundred thousand crowns was to be paid at the distance of a fortnight; and, at the expiration of three months, a third payment of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns was required. He also engaged not to take part in the

CHAP.
II.

war against the emperor, either in Lombardy or Naples; and he not only gave hostages, but ceded the possession of several towns, as a security for the performance of the stipulated articles. A day was then fixed for his release from imprisonment; but impatience of confinement, and suspicion of the faith of Charles, induced him to take advantage of the remitted vigilance with which he was guarded after the commencement of the treaty. In the disguise of a merchant, and accompanied only by a single attendant, he succeeded in escaping from the castle of Saint Angelo during the night, and before the next morning arrived at Orvieto, a small town in the ecclesiastical state, distant about fifteen leagues from Rome*.

Dec. 6.

Orvieto is memorable in ecclesiastical history, as being the place where the divorce of Henry the Eighth of England from Catherine of Arragon was first brought under the cognizance of the papal court. The wishes and sentiments of Henry on this important subject had been privately communicated to Clement while a prisoner in the castle of Saint Angelo; but it was at Orvieto that a formal motion was first made to bring the cause before the consistory of Rome. It is at this point of the narrative, therefore, that a statement of the question naturally demands insertion. It is not more than just, even to Henry, that his motives and his professions should be set forth as they were urged by himself. It is highly injurious to the advocates of his cause, that the arguments by which it was defended should not be faithfully

* Guic. Hist. It. l. 13.

recorded. The justice of his cause will not be invalidated even by the concession that his motives in prosecuting it were bad. That is not indeed altogether the fact: he was actuated by different motives, though the preponderating motive was satiety of Catherine and a passion for Anne Boleyn.

A. D.
1527.

Catherine of Arragon, once the Infanta of Spain, was a princess not destitute of personal charms, and possessed of great wealth, and of high connexions. On these last accounts, an union of this princess with the royal family of England was ardently desired by Henry the Seventh. She had a dowry the largest* which had been given for many years with any princess, and her alliance with Spain and Burgundy constituted a foundation for a confederacy between those kingdoms and England against the growing power of France. A marriage recommended by such politic considerations was successfully promoted by the English monarch, and the Infanta was publicly married to his elder son, Arthur, then prince of Wales, a youth in his sixteenth year. The Spanish ambassador was satisfied of the consummation of the marriage, and a cohabitation of five months was sufficient to confirm the fact in the opinion of the English nation†. At the expiration of this period, Arthur died; but so confident was the expectation of issue from the marriage, that the title of prince of Wales was not conferred on Henry, duke of York, for a considerable time after the death of his-brother.

1501.
Nov. 14.

1502.
April 2.

* 200,000 ducats. Burnet.

† Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life of Henry VIII.*

CHAP.
II.

The alliance between England and Spain being thus weakened by the untimely death of Arthur, Henry the Seventh proposed that it should be again cemented by a second marriage between Catherine and his younger son Henry, now heir apparent to the throne. Fully was he aware that objections might be alleged against the legality of an union with the widow of a deceased brother, but he thought that they might be obviated by a papal dispensation. Julius the Second, always watchful over the temporal interests of the holy see, saw that by this measure the league would be strengthened against his great enemy the king of France; and he required little solicitation to promote it by his sanction. On the petition of prince Henry and Catherine, he granted a bull, authorizing their marriage if it had not already taken place, or, if it had already taken place, confirming it after the imposition by their confessor of some wholesome penance. The legality and the probable consummation of the marriage* between Catherine and prince Arthur were distinctly admitted in the dispensation; and the cause assigned, both for the petition of the contracting parties and for the consent of the pope to the petition, was the preservation of peace and amity between the kingdoms of England and Spain†.

Throughout the whole of this transaction, Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor, manifested a steady and strenuous opposition. He delivered his opinion with firmness and freedom

* *Illudque carnali copula forsan consummavistis.* Burnet's History of the Reformation, v. i. b. ii. Appendix, No. 1.

† *Ut vinetum pacis et amicitiae diutius permaneat.* Ibid.

on the illegality and impolicy of such an union. He represented it to be contrary to the laws of God, and dishonourable to the kingdom of England. He knew that such a measure would excite popular discontent, and that national feuds were likely to arise concerning the succession to the crown, if there should be any issue from a marriage whose illegality was so evident.

A. D.
1505.

The remonstrances of Warham were ineffectual in preventing Henry the Seventh from obtaining the papal dispensation; but, by the pertinacity with which they were urged, they operated so powerfully as to prevent the execution of the dispensation when obtained. The parties were espoused, but the prince at that time was too young to complete the contract, and Henry the Seventh changed his resolution of enforcing its completion. On the day when his son was of age, he commanded the young prince to make a protestation, in the presence of several of the nobility, and which was deposited in the hands of Fox, bishop of Winchester. It was to the following effect: that whereas he had been contracted in matrimony, when under age, to the princess Catherine, yet then, being of full age, he retracted and annulled his consent; that he would never proceed in the contract, or complete it; but intended in full form of law to make it void; and that this retraction was made freely and without compulsion*.

June 27.

Henry the Seventh survived the date of this protestation four years, and during the remainder of his life continued adverse to the completion of

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, v. i. Appendix, b. ii. No. 2.

CHAP.
II.

the contract. From his experience of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, he knew that no alliance, however advantageous, could compensate the evils of a controverted title to the crown. On his death-bed he solemnly charged his son to adhere to the terms of the protestation, and entirely to break off from a marriage portending the most disastrous consequences.

1509,
April 27.

On the accession of Henry the Eighth to his father's throne, one of the first questions submitted to the deliberation of the council was, whether the young king should finally rescind or complete the contract? Arguments were brought on both sides. However Warham might relax in his active opposition, yet he adhered to his original opinion on the illegality of the marriage. But the king was prevailed on by the majority of his council to complete the contract, in contradiction to his own deliberate protestation, in disobedience to the dying injunction of his father, and, it has been even said, in repugnance to his own inclinations. Six weeks after he ascended the throne he was publicly married to the princess Catherine, and soon afterwards the king and queen joined in the ceremony of a coronation.

Whatever evils had been predicted by the opponents of the marriage were completely verified by the event. The queen was many years older than Henry; and his affection, never strong, was extinguished with the wane of her personal attractions. Two sons, which she had borne in the earlier years of their union, died in their infancy. Their only surviving offspring was the princess Mary; and in her, the evil of female succession to

the throne often to be deprecated, was aggravated by a doubt of her legitimacy.

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When Henry could expect no farther issue, he created his daughter Mary princess of Wales, and his great object was to find for her a suitable alliance. As his political interests vibrated between France and Spain, he negotiated a treaty of marriage with the sovereigns of both these countries. The emperor Charles, who was the nephew of Catherine, had a personal interview with Henry, and was betrothed to his cousin in her infancy; but the compact was broken by the emperor, with the advice of his cortes, on the ostensible ground of the questionable legitimacy of the princess. Francis had twice proposed an union between Mary and the royal family of France, first with the dauphin, and then with the duke of Orleans; but the last of these treaties was suspended, by the advice of the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, till the legitimacy of the princess was ascertained.

The insinuation is not improbable that these doubts concerning the legitimacy of his daughter might have been secretly encouraged by Henry after he contemplated a divorce from Catherine; but it is certain that they were previously agitated without his connivance or knowledge, and that they must then have been the source to him of the greatest inquietude. A marriage of the female heir to the English crown with the presumptive heir of the crown of France would have reduced England to the condition of a French province. A measure so fatal to national independence would naturally have induced the English people to take

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advantage of the doubtful legitimacy of Mary; and it is reasonable to suppose that, after the death of her father, rival claimants to the throne would have asserted their pretensions.

Wolsey was a statesman of too great penetration not to foresee this evil; and however he might have disapproved the object of Henry's passion, and the substitution of Anne Boleyn in the place of Catherine, yet the divorce itself he must, on principle, have approved. It was his inclination to exchange the aunt of Charles for the sister of Francis, and in this he only seconded the wishes of the English nation; for these decidedly pointed to the duchess d'Alençon. From many of his letters it appears that he had undertaken to carry through this great national measure; and although he miscalculated his ability, and over-rated his influence with the pope and the sacred college, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. In his embassy to France, while the pope was in confinement, the divorce of Henry was one of the articles of private negotiation; and when the pontiff had escaped to Orvieto, and was no longer under the inspection of the imperial guard, the subject, by Wolsey's suggestion, was propounded in due form.

The management of this delicate business was committed by Wolsey to the secretary Knight, who was sent on an extraordinary embassy, and to sir Gregory Cassali, the ordinary ambassador at the court of Rome. The question naturally divided itself into two parts: 1. Whether a marriage with the wife of a deceased brother was contrary to the law of God and of the church? 2. Whether, supposing such a marriage to be un-

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lawful, it could be rendered lawful by a papal dispensation? Both these questions, in the sequel, occasioned a long and fierce controversy; but in the present stage of the proceeding neither of them was agitated. The affirmative of both was clearly admitted. It was admitted that such a marriage was, if not unlawful, at least irregular and uncanonical; because a dispensation presupposes a previous irregularity or defect. But it was also admitted that such a marriage could be legalized by a papal dispensation; because it would have been equally absurd and indecorous for those to have questioned the papal power who sought its remedial interposition. The extent of the pope's power, not its existence, was debated; for the English ambassadors contended that the pope could not dispense in a case of the nearest degree of affinity without the most cogent reasons.

At this period the aim of the English suitors in the consistory of Rome, was to save the honour and infallibility of the apostolic see without prejudice to their cause. To effect this, they endeavoured to find such errors in the bull of Julius the Second, authorizing the marriage of Henry and Catherine, as might render it a nullity. It is a maxim in the canon law, that if a bull be granted on the suggestion of any material falsehood, or the suppression of any material truth, it is void; and such contradictions and omissions the canonists employed by Henry had discovered in the papal dispensation.

In the preamble of the bull it was suggested that prince Henry had petitioned the pope to grant a dispensation for his marriage with the

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princess Catherine, and that the dispensation was granted in consequence of such a petition. This, it was contended, was a false suggestion, because, at that time prince Henry was only twelve years of age. It was also stated in the preamble, that the motive of prince Henry, in desiring a marriage with the princess Catherine, was the preservation of peace between the two kingdoms of England and Spain. To this suggestion it was objected, that a youth of twelve years could never desire a marriage on political considerations so refined and subtle. In the body of the dispensation it was suggested, that the motive which urged the pope to grant it was to preserve peace between the two kingdoms. This was another false suggestion; because there was no danger of any breach between them, and therefore the pope was moved by a false representation of a danger that did not exist. In addition to these errors, both Henry the Seventh of England, and Isabella of Spain, were dead before the completion of the contract; so that a marriage could not be valid by virtue of a bull granted to maintain amity between those potentates. The canonists were also of opinion that prince Henry, by his protestation after he was of age, retracted any pretended desire that he might have expressed during his nonage. A presumed desire, expressed during his minority, was controverted by his actual protestation when he had arrived at competence of judgment and action; therefore a marriage founded on a dispensation, purporting to be granted on such a presumed desire, must be null and void.

On these grounds the English canonists and

divines advised the prosecution of the suit, and by such arguments the cause of Henry was to be publicly defended. The ambassadors also received private instructions, and, in the credentials which they were to deliver to the pope, an earnest clause was added in the king's own hand. They were commanded to represent the devoted attachment of the king of England to the holy see, the solicitude and exertions both of the king and the cardinal of York to obtain the complete release of the head of the church, and to assure the holy father that the latter would employ himself with as much industry to effect it as his ecclesiastical station demanded, and as his temporal influence enabled. They were also forcibly to depict the condition of Italy and of Christendom; the one desolated by the imperial armies, the other distracted by the Lutheran heresy. They were instructed to expatiate on the treachery of the emperor, on the insincerity of his amicable professions, compared with the fidelity of the English king in the performance of his engagements. They were finally to impress on the mind of the pope that a ready compliance with the solicitation then preferred would unite the king to the holy see in the bonds of a warm and indissoluble friendship*.

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When these representations were first made by the secretary, Knight, it was not at a personal interview, because the pope was then under the custody of the imperial guard. The sum of Henry's wishes and demands was privately communicated to the

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, v. i. b. ii. Appendix, No. 3.

CHAP. imprisoned pontiff, and he at once signified his
 II. willingness to accede. It has been asserted that a dispensation and a commission for expediting the divorce were executed by Clement while in confinement; but they were deemed invalid, because executed under a restraint on his liberty.

But when the business was publicly opened at Orvieto, jointly by Knight and Cassali, the pope, though he expressed the warmest sentiments of gratitude towards the king of England, was slow in purpose, and still more tardy in action. It was soon evident to the ambassadors that he was anxious to exonerate himself from the chief responsibility in the affair. He insinuated that if the king were convinced of the illegality of his marriage, he might venture to take another wife, and then the whole matter might be brought to a speedy decision *. He urged that the imperialists had not retreated from Rome, and that Lautrec, though at the head of a powerful army, could not advance in the winter season to regain possession of the capital of the ecclesiastical state. He also professed his own inexperience, and ignorance of the canon law, and complained that the most able members of the conclave, to whom he usually resorted for advice in cases of this nature, were still detained as hostages.

At length, however, in consequence of the persevering application of the ambassadors, and by

* Clement said, "The king appears to me to have taken the most circuitous route. If he be convinced that his marriage is null, let him marry again. This will enable me or the legate to decide the question at once." Lingard's *History of England*, v. vi. b. iii. See also sir Greg. Cassali's despatch, dated Orvieto, 13th Jan. 1527, in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, v. i. b. ii Appendix, No. 6.

the assistance and advice of one of the cardinals^a, a dispensation and commission were reluctantly granted. The pope professed all the readiness to comply with Henry's wishes which could be expected in his critical circumstances: the imperial forces were not far distant from him, and were ravaging the country round Orvieto.

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The English ambassadors had been instructed to move that a legation might be appointed to try the cause in England, and the pope would have agreed to the proposition, if he had not been awed by the neighbourhood of the imperial troops: he acknowledged to Cassali that this would be the preferable mode of determining the question, but he desired the ambassador to signify that this was the opinion of some of his cardinals rather than his own.

When the dispensation and the commission were exhibited in England, a general dissatisfaction prevailed, because they were not sufficiently explicit and decisive. Staphileus, dean of the Rota, being then at the court of Henry, was sent by Wolsey to Rome. Through him, the cardinal addressed an earnest epistle to the pope, soliciting a more ample commission, and renewing his entreaties for a speedy and favourable termination of the suit. By the same hand he sent to Cassali, instructing him to move the pope to grant a plenary commission for the trial of the cause in England. He requested that another cardinal might be joined in the commission with himself, and pointed out the cardinal Campeggio as the most eligible member of the sacred college.

* The cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*.

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II.

February.

To strengthen the English interest at the court of Rome, the embassy received an important accession. Not only Staphileus was retained in the service of Henry, but Wolsey specially deputed Stephen Gardiner his private secretary, and Edmund Fox the king's almoner. Gardiner was supposed to be the most eminent canonist, and Fox the most able theologian in the kingdom, and they were both skilled in the arts of diplomacy. Wolsey again renewed his solicitations to the pope in terms at once indicative of his sincerity, and of his fears for his own safety, if the cause were not quickly determined according to the wishes of his sovereign. He added also his apprehensions, that if the pope were so intimidated by the emperor, as not to grant that which all Christendom judged to be right and lawful, both the king of England and other Christian princes would seek different remedies, and despise the authority of the holy see. He concluded with a solemn protestation, that neither partiality, nor love of his prince, nor the bond of servitude impelled him to urge his request, but that he was guided only by rectitude of intention*.

When Gardiner and Fox joined the English embassy, the imperialists had withdrawn from Rome, of which they had kept possession during ten months. Clement then returned to the capital of the ecclesiastical state, and felt nothing of cap-

* *Hæc loquor ut Christianus et ut devotissimus istius sedis membrum sincerè suadeo: non affectus, non principis amor, non servitatis vinculum me impellit, sed solâ rectitudine ad id adducor.* Feb. 10, 1528. Burnet's Hist. Ref. v. i. b. ii. Appendix, No. 8.

tivity but the remembrance. Bitter indeed must that remembrance have been, for it completely enthralled his mind. He had painfully experienced, that the evils of hostility are aggravated by its vicinity, and he knew, that though the treasure of England had been and might be again available in procuring his liberty, yet that her armies were too distant to prevent a recurrence of his late calamity. Fear was always a stronger motive with him than gratitude, and it often inclined him to his enemy rather than his benefactor.

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But in spite of the timidity and indecision of Clement, the applications of the English ambassadors were urged with such pertinacity, that a commission for trying the cause in England was at last granted. The pope, in open consistory, appointed cardinal Campeggio and the cardinal of York his legates on this occasion, with full powers to determine the validity of the marriage between Henry and Catherine.

April.

Of the character of Campeggio thus selected by the pope, at the suggestion of Wolsey, something must be said. He possessed great influence in the sacred college, and was conversant with the forensic business of the apostolic see. Frequently he had been intrusted with negotiations of difficulty, and particularly at the second diet of the empire assembled at Nuremburg. He there artfully eluded the demands of the diet for the assembling of a general council, and for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances*. As his public character was marked by a love of intrigue, so his private life was di-

* Sleidan Comment. de Stat. Rel. et Rep. lib. iv.

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II.

stinguished by laxity of morals. Among his many lucrative perferments he possessed the bishopric of Salisbury, and this circumstance rendered his appointment as one of the legates gratifying to Henry.

The legation was not absolutely refused by Campeggio, but was accepted with unfeigned reluctance. Whatever might be the event of the suit, he must be necessarily involved in a quarrel either with the king of England or the emperor. He therefore used every mode of address to avoid the appointment, and, when he could not succeed, he resorted to every excuse for procrastinating his journey. He pleaded his infirm health, and consequent inability to travel, and his high and responsible situation at Rome. His excuses were obviated by Wolsey; and at length, wearied with importunity, October. he proceeded to England. Campeggio brought with him a decretal bull, authorising the divorce, if the legates, after a full hearing, were satisfied of the invalidity of the marriage.

Although the ambassadors of England, stimulated by Henry and Wolsey, had succeeded so far as to obtain a commission of legation and a decretal bull, many difficulties were yet to be overcome. By the canon law, the papal power is so absolute, that no general clauses in commissions to legates can bind the pope to confirm their decisions. The infallibility of the supreme head of the church is incommunicable even by himself; and it is doubtful whether a promise, or what is technically styled a pollicitation, to confirm the decisions of any subordinate functionary, is obligatory on the sovereign pontiff.

Thus Henry was soon convinced, that the dilatory and tortuous pace of the ecclesiastical law was of itself sufficient to tire his ardent expectations, and they were doomed to sustain a stronger and a positive counteraction. From the time when the subject of the divorce was first agitated, the emperor without reserve declared himself on the side of his aunt. Henry had entertained a false persuasion that the former scruples of Charles, concerning the legitimacy of the princess Mary, would have prevented his open support of the validity of her mother's marriage; but in such a persuasion he was not suffered long to remain. At the commencement of the suit, Charles gave the strongest assurances to the English queen, that he would vigorously support her rights.

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Hen. VIII.

By commensurate steps, he proceeded with the English court and with the English embassy, and his agents were employed to defeat the schemes of both. As the canonists on the side of Henry began their prosecution of the suit by taking verbal exceptions to the bull of Julius the Second, Charles commenced by employing other canonists to invalidate the force of these exceptions. A breve was therefore found or forged in Spain which supplied all the errors and amended all the defects of the original bull. In the preamble of the bull, an exception had been taken, that Henry and Catherine had petitioned for a dispensation to marry in order to preserve peace between England and Spain. In the preamble of the breve, the exception was obviated; the reason of their petition was there declared to be "because otherwise it was not likely that peace would continue," and for that, and divers

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II.

other reasons, they desired to marry. There was, however, one admission in the breve, which involved a strong suspicion of its genuineness, and was eventually turned against Catherine's cause. In the bull, it was alleged only that her marriage with prince Arthur had, perhaps, been consummated, but in the breve it was said positively that the parties had consummated the marriage. This declaration was in direct contradiction to the asseveration which the queen afterwards made in open court with such impression and effect, and it afforded a presumption that the breve had been fabricated to serve a particular purpose. The consummation of the marriage was not then questioned, it was neither affirmed by one party nor denied by the other: the only matter of debate then was concerning the false suggestions of the bull. An inference was naturally drawn that the breve was fabricated cautiously, to obviate the objections then insisted on, and negligently, with respect to another material point not then discussed. But not only the internal evidence preponderated against the genuineness of the breve, but the external evidence was decisive. The instrument was not found in the public archives of Spain, but was said to be discovered among the papers of de Puebla, the Spanish ambassador at the court of Henry the Seventh.

The friends of Catherine acquired no reputation to themselves, and rendered no service to her, by resorting to this mode of defending the validity of her marriage; but they argued with fairness and force against the trial of the cause in England. No sooner was the commission granted to the legates, than the

emperor, in the name of Catherine, protested against the legation, and declared her refusal to submit to its authority. Of the two legates joined in the commission, Wolsey was the king's chief minister, and her avowed enemy; Campeggio, as bishop of Salisbury, was the king's subject, and owed obedience. The emperor pressed an avocation of the suit to Rome, where the cause would be heard with impartiality, and where the decision would be without appeal.

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Hen. VIII.

The two legates, though impelled by different motives, agreed in opinion that the cause ought not to be tried in England, but that it should be remitted to the papal decision. They had fruitlessly endeavoured to persuade both parties to yield; Henry to relinquish his suit, and Catherine to resign her title. They concurred in representing to the pope the agitation of the king's mind; that he was so much disquieted by the disputes of divines, and the decrees of fathers, as to require not only a more than common share of learning, but an extraordinary degree of piety and illumination, for resolving his perplexities. They thought an avocation of the cause preferable to its determination by themselves; but the measure most strongly recommended by them was a decretal bull, for which many precedents could be adduced*.

Whatever might be pretended of the partiality of Campeggio to the cause of Henry, it is evident that his inclinations and his interests were on the

* Letter of the legates to the pope. Burnet's History of the Reform. vol. i. b. 2. Appendix, No. 24.

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other side. His only connexion with England was the bishopric of Salisbury, and the loss of this preferment could be easily compensated either by the emperor or the pope. He was equally insincere with Clement, but his was the insincerity of management, not of cowardice. Clement, through dread of the impending wrath of Charles, and of an ultimate rupture with Henry, sent Campana to England, with an injunction to Campeggio to destroy the decretal bull, while, by the same messenger, he soothed the English king with the assurance that the suit should be terminated in his favour. Campeggio, fearless of consequences, refused to submit the decretal bull to the inspection of the English council, and even to leave it with the king or Wolsey, while he amused Henry with the most specious promises, and the most delusive expectations of the papal sanction to his divorce.

As to Wolsey, he saw the gathering storm which, whenever it fell, was certain to involve him in ruin; and he could find no way of extricating himself from the difficulties which surrounded him. He was rapidly declining in the favour of his sovereign, who attributed the delay of the divorce rather to the treachery of his minister than the tergiversation of the pope. To Catherine he had never been acceptable, for she suspected, either causelessly or not, that he had infused conscientious scruples into the king's mind concerning the validity of her marriage, and she had always shown a dislike of the licentiousness of his morals. From Anne Boleyn, if she succeeded Catherine as the royal consort, he could expect no favour; she had exasperated Henry's natural impatience against

him ; she was, in fact, the “weight” by which he was at last dragged from his pinnacle of worldly grandeur. The political hostility of the emperor against him had been of long continuance, and it was now sharpened into personal hatred. If he ever possessed the friendship of the pope he had now forfeited it : while Clement laboured under a dangerous sickness, he had renewed his intrigues for the papal chair, and he was regarded by the convalescent pontiff with that antipathy which most men feel towards an aspirant after their reversionary dignities. To the nobility and the people of England, his haughty demeanour and his profuse expenditure had rendered him peculiarly obnoxious, and the earliest indications of displeasure were anxiously expected by those flatterers of royalty who “watch the sign to hate*.”

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Hen. VIII.

It is difficult at this distance of time to assign the true reason why Henry suffered a trial to proceed, from which he could not reasonably expect a favourable issue, and none of the parties could expect a conclusive adjustment. Perhaps he might have been deluded by the fair promises of Campeggio, perhaps he thought that the strength of his arguments must prevail, even against the secret wishes of the legates ; but, whatever were his reasons, the formality of a trial was at last determined. Gardiner was recalled from Rome to conduct the king’s cause, for his presence was deemed to be so essential, that no proceedings could take place before his arrival. Previously to his departure from Rome, he was instructed to ex-

* Vanity of Human Wishes.

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postulate with the pope on his partiality towards the emperor, and on the failure of his friendly professions towards the king of England.

The imperialists, alarmed at the recall of Gardiner, and advertised that the process was going on in England, began to plead strenuously for an avocation of the cause to Rome. The English ambassadors, who still remained, were instructed to reply that no process had yet commenced, and that, before its commencement, either an inhibition of the proceedings, or an avocation of the cause, would be informal.

When the process had actually commenced, and the motion for an avocation was renewed, the English ambassadors obviated it in a different manner. They contended that such a measure would involve the character of the legates, and that it would be a violation of the pope's written promise. They represented that the king of England could not appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy, without a derogation from his royal prerogative. They intimated that the nobility of England were decidedly friendly to the divorce, and in case it was refused, they would withdraw their allegiance from the holy see with the king at their head.

The imperialists having declined to send the original breve to England, on which they so much relied, and having urged this as a plea for the decision of the cause at Rome, the English met the objection by offering to proceed to trial upon the attested copy of the breve already sent from Spain.

While the imperial party was thus pressing an avocation of the cause to Rome, the preparations were completed for the trial in England. It was

indeed a singular spectacle to see a sovereign prince and his consort, presenting themselves as suitors in the court of a foreign potentate held “within their own realm and dominion*.” The place allotted for the session of the court was at Blackfriars, in a room called the parliament chamber: the king and queen during the time of the trial resided in the contiguous palace of Bridewell, and Campeggio from the time of his arrival in England was lodged in Bath place.

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Hen. VIII.

Though Wolsey was the elder cardinal †, yet he yielded the precedence to Campeggio, partly to give a colour of impartiality to the proceedings, and partly from a disinclination to take the lead in a transaction of which he foresaw the unsuccessful result. The king, by a warrant under the great seal, had previously granted his license to the legates to execute their commission, and the court held its first sitting on the same day that the license was received. The counsel employed on behalf of the king were under the direction of Gardiner, of whom the chief were Samson, dean of the chapel, afterwards bishop of Chichester, and Bell, afterwards bishop of Worcester. The queen was supported by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Standish, bishop of Saint Asaph. On her side also appeared Ridley, a doctor of canon and civil law, “a very small person of stature, but surely a great and learned clerk in divinity‡.”

May 31.

* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

† Wolsey was created a cardinal Sept. 7, 1515; Campeggio July 1, 1517. Baker's Notes on Burnet's History of the Reform.

‡ Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

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June 18.

The commission of legation was presented by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, and after being read by the protonotary of the court, the legates took it in their hands, and swore to execute it faithfully. A citation was then issued for the appearance of the king and queen at the next sitting. The citations having been duly executed, the king appeared in court by his proxies; the queen appeared in person, and protested against the incompetence of the legates, alleging that the cause was already avocated by the pope. This allegation, at her desire, she was allowed a future day to prove.

June 21.

The historian, in relating the proceedings of the third session, of that memorable day when both Henry and Catherine dignified the court by their personal appearance and by their pleadings, will consider brevity and succinctness as qualities not dictated by indolence, but imposed on him by modesty. He will contentedly refer his reader to the graphical detail of Hall and Cavendish, and will leave the character of Catherine, as well as Wolsey, in the hands of Shakspeare. The queen having made her affecting appeal to Henry in the presence of the whole court, retired, and never appeared again. After her departure, Henry fully exculpated Wolsey from the insinuation frequently urged against him, that through his artifices Longland had infused scruples into the king's mind concerning the lawfulness of his marriage. The king, on this occasion, unequivocally declared that the doubts originated in himself.

June 25.

At the next session, which was the day allowed for the queen to prove her allegation, her counsel

brought in her appeal. She excepted to the place of trial, to her judges, and even to her counsel, in whom she could not confide. On these accounts she appealed, and referred her cause to the pope, proving that her appeal was grounded on many precedents of the canon law. The appeal having been read in court, but the queen herself not appearing, she was declared contumacious. The legates then proceeded to draw up articles on which the witnesses were to be examined, according to the practice of the civil and canon law. The point chiefly insisted on at this sitting by the king's counsel was the consummation of the marriage between prince Arthur and the queen. When Fisher and Ridley objected to the indelicacy of detail which the discussion of this question must necessarily involve, they were sharply reproved by Wolsey.

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Hen. VIII.

The legates proceeded in the examination of witnesses, and were thus occupied during several sessions. The court issued a second citation, commanding the queen to appear, and on her refusal she was a second time pronounced contumacious. On a subsequent day, the bull of Julius the Second, and an attested copy of the breve found in Spain, were produced, and the king's counsel argued against the validity of the one and the genuineness of the other. The counsel having, in the course of argument, contended that the pope's power of dispensation did not extend to any prohibitions of the divine law, Campeggio interposed, and refused to hear the authority of the pope questioned or limited in any court wherein he presided. The two following sessions were employed

July 5.

CHAP. in taking the depositions of the remaining wit-
 II. nesses, which were afterwards published.

There can be no doubt that Campeggio had received secret instructions to protract the cause till an avocation was granted. When the protestation of Henry against the marriage had been read and verified, Gardiner summed up the evidence, and in the king's name prayed that sentence might be given. But Campeggio pretended that an interval ought to elapse between the close of the evidence and the sentence; he therefore adjourned the court for two days.

July 23. On the last session, as a general expectation prevailed that a definitive sentence would be pronounced, the court was thronged with the nobility and other persons of distinction. Campeggio had no other concern on his own account, than to terminate the business with a plausible oration. He was about to leave England for ever, for a soil more congenial to his temperament, and a sphere better adapted to his talents. His speech began with professions of his own impartiality, and of his disregard to the favour or censure of any human being however exalted. "What would it avail me," he asked, "to put my soul in hazard of God's displeasure for the praise of any man however great, even of my prince? I am now old, of feeble body, and of short continuance here." He adverted to the appeal of the queen against the decision of the legates, on the ground of their presumed partiality, as being subjects of the king of England. For this reason she had exhibited no answer, and had not taken any part in the proceedings; therefore, to avoid all ambiguities and

doubts, he declined to take any farther step until he had received the advice of the pope, or some other person of greater experience than himself. A. D.
1529.
Hen. VIII.
 The court in which he then presided was a branch of the consistory of Rome, and the legates were bound to conform to its rules of proceeding. The consistory never sat during the summer vacation, and he should observe the same custom; therefore he adjourned the court for three months, and thus pronounced its dissolution. Long before the expiration of the vacation, there arrived in England, what Campaggio knew was about to be decreed *, Decreed
July 26.
 AN AVOCATION OF THE CAUSE TO ROME.

* The avocation was decreed at Rome three days after this session.

CHAPTER III.

Indignation of Henry.—Disgrace of Wolsey.—Rise of Cranmer.—He writes a Treatise in Favour of the Divorce.—Decisions of the English Universities in its Favour; and of many foreign Universities; and of many eminent Individuals.—Address of the English Nobility and Gentry to the Pope.—The Pope's Rescript.—Death of Wolsey.—Parliament and Convocation assembled.—The Clergy involved in a Præmunire.—Statutes enacted in Prejudice of the papal Authority.—Remonstrance of Henry to the Pope.—Its Consequences.—Resignation of Sir Thomas More.—Death of Warham.

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III.

July 23.

AT the time when the court was thus abruptly dissolved by Campeggio, several of the nobility were present, and the king himself was in a contiguous apartment. His indignation at the moment may easily be conceived, and it communicated itself to his nobles. The duke of Suffolk came from the gallery where the king was, and said with great vehemence, "It was never merry in England since we had any cardinals among us." This severe taunt was at first suffered to pass unnoticed; but on its repetition, Wolsey, in a calm manner, vindicated the proceedings of the court. He went farther, and, in answer to the reflection on the order to which he belonged, alluded to an instance of the duke of Suffolk's personal obligation to himself*. The allusion has invited and baffled

* "If I poor cardinal had not been, you should have had no head upon your shoulders, wherewith you might make any such brag."—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*.

the conjectures of subsequent historians, but it was at the time perfectly understood by the duke. It was not only intelligible, but efficacious, for “the duke gave over the matter without any farther words or answer, and went his way*.”

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After the first ebullition of anger, the resentment of Henry against the legates, and the pope himself, was for a time suppressed. Campeggio was admitted to an audience before his departure to Rome, and received not only professions of kindness and esteem, but a munificent reward. Even the fate of Wolsey was undetermined for an interval of three months, and he was treated with complacency, though not with confidence. Then, however, his suspense was converted into a fearful certainty. The first public mark of displeasure was his removal from the office of lord chancellor, which he resigned with reluctance, and refused to resign on a verbal message from the king, conveyed to him by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. Deprived of his high political office, he was next indicted on the statute of “*præmunire*,” for exercising his legatine authority in the realm of England, though he had the license of his sovereign for his violation of an obsolete law. Of this offence he, without hesitation, confessed himself guilty, committing himself to the clemency of the king. By such a confession, he incurred the penalty of confiscation of goods, a penalty which was exacted with unrelenting rigour. He was commanded to retire from the court to Esher, a house then belonging to the see

November.

* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

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of Winchester, where the necessities of life were supplied by the few faithful servants whom adversity could not alienate. His confiscated property was restored to him by the king in such a scanty measure, as was calculated rather to insult his misery than to relieve his wants.

All these injuries were borne by Wolsey, not with magnanimity, but without remonstrance, and generally without complaint. On one occasion alone, the flagrant injustice of his treatment extorted from him something like a rebuke. The king, by one of the judges*, signified to the disgraced cardinal, that York-house, a demesne of the archbishopric, should be surrendered, and converted into a regal palace. Wolsey, after having fully shown the illegality of the demand, and the impolicy of yielding to it, submitted; but by the messenger who conveyed his extorted assent, he ventured to remind his incensed master of a truth which, when in the enjoyment of favour, he had perhaps never whispered into the royal ear, and which he had himself, too probably, forgotten. He humbly implored his sovereign graciously to remember that there is both a heaven and a hell†.

August.

Before the disgrace of Wolsey, Henry had sent by Gardiner a protest to Rome against the avocation, and a refusal to appear there either in person or by proxy. It was, he stated, derogatory to the rights of his crown to suffer himself to be cited into a foreign court. He also protested against the manner in which the commission to the legates

* Shelley.

† Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

was declared void; contending that it should have been revoked by a declaratory breve, and not by an avocation*.

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With the removal of Wolsey from the councils of Henry, a new system of policy commenced. The office of lord chancellor, after being refused by Warham, was conferred on sir Thomas More, and thus was disunited, for the first time, from the church. A parliament, which had not assembled for seven years before, was summoned, as the king resolved to ascertain the opinions of his people on the late events, and to be aided by their counsels with respect to his future conduct. November.

The progress of the doctrines of the reformation had now considerably advanced, for the reformers, being friendly to the king's divorce, had escaped persecution. The house of commons appeared to have strongly imbibed this spirit, for three bills were introduced, levelled immediately against the exorbitant power of the clergy, and ultimately against the see of Rome. The first was against exactions for probates of wills†; the second against excessive mortuaries or corse presents‡; and the third against pluralities, non-residence, and farming by the clergy§. In the statute against pluralities, the authority of the pope was directly attacked, since all dispensations from Rome, or elsewhere, contrary to the act were declared null and void.

When these bills were brought up to the house of lords they were supported by the temporal

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, b. ii.

† 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5. ‡ Ibid. c. 6. § Ibid. c. 7, 8.

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peers, and as strongly opposed by the prelates. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in the course of debate, cast a severe reflection on the house of commons, accusing them of a design to overthrow the church of England, and adverted to the kingdom of Bohemia, reduced by heresy to the lowest state of misery : he ended his speech with the observation, “ All this was for lack of faith.” This observation having been reported to the commons, that house sent its speaker, with thirty other members, complaining to the king that the bishop of Rochester had thrown an imputation on the whole English nation through its representatives. The king referred the complaint to the archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops, and to them Fisher vindicated himself by an explanation that his assertion referred to the kingdom of Bohemia, and not to England. This explanation was sent by order of the king to the house of commons, and though not entirely satisfactory, was accepted. But the three bills, notwithstanding the opposition of the spirituality, passed the house of lords, and received the royal assent.

It has been said that Wolsey was admitted to sit in this parliament *, but it is evident that he never appeared there †. He continued during the whole time at Esher, expecting an impeachment. In the house of lords he had many enemies, and a charge of high misdemeanours was there exhibited against him ; but the prosecution was stopped in the commons, through the influence of his faithful servant, Thomas Cromwell.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, b. ii.

† Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

When Henry was convinced from the conduct of the parliament, during even its short session, that the authority of the see of Rome was declining in the estimation of the people; when he also perceived that the sentiments both of the nobility and the nation, and even of many ecclesiastics, were favourable to his divorce; the possibility of accomplishing his wishes without the intervention of the pope naturally suggested itself. The prejudices of his education, his controversial achievements, the influence of his favourite minister Wolsey, had all contributed to confirm his attachment to the apostolic see, and from ties so strong he could not break away without a violent effort. But this effort was facilitated by an accession of counsel and exertion, the more grateful because unexpected. Henry, among his other faults, was not the slave of favouritism, and Wolsey, in his last moments, gave testimony to the inflexible obstinacy of his master. Yet though he would never submit to absolute control, there were seasons when he was not impenetrable to conviction; he even loved freedom of speech, when it flowed from sincerity and singleness of heart. These qualities he honoured sometimes by his commendation and reward, and sometimes by an obedience to their dictates; and these qualities he found, and loved, in Cranmer.

To bring before the notice of the reader a personage who acted so prominent a part in the reformation of the English church without a single prefatory remark, would be an abrupt and unsuitable introduction. To attempt the delineation of a character which will be fully developed in the

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The character of Cranmer cannot be entirely passed over without comment, even at this point of the narrative, because its crimination has been a favourite mode of aggression with the advocates of the Romish church. The protestant may undoubtedly repel the aggression, by replying that truth is equally "mighty," by whatever lips it may be uttered, that error is not altered, because it may be attacked from unworthy motives, and that argument is equally incontrovertible by whatever hand it may be wielded. Thus he may fearlessly meet his opponents, but with respect even to the point of general character he has no reason to decline the challenge. The English reformers, although encompassed with the failings of humanity, were raised far above its ordinary standard, and Cranmer, with many imperfections, is not unworthy of the place which he holds in the veneration of the church of England.

Among the other accusations preferred against the first protestant archbishop of Canterbury, one is immediately connected with his elevation. His sudden rise, it is affirmed, is attributable solely to his conduct with respect to the divorce of Henry and Catherine, and his culpability is founded on the presumption that the marriage was originally valid.

It is a sufficient vindication of Cranmer, that his opinion on the validity of the marriage was not entertained on light grounds, and that it was not entertained by himself alone. If he promoted the divorce, he promoted it in common with the most

able men of those times ; in common with his predecessor, Warham, and his antagonist, Gardiner ;
 in accordance not only with the popular voice, but
 with the avowed sentiments of the English nobility ; in conjunction not only with the friends of the reformation, but with many of its most implacable enemies.

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The introduction of Cranmer into public life, and his consequent advancement, arose out of one of those seemingly unimportant accidents which produce a train of great events. He was then a fellow of Jesus college in the university of Cambridge ; his fellowship had been vacated by his marriage, but on the death of his wife he was re-elected into his former situation. Such was his reputation for theological learning, that he was offered the lectureship in divinity in the college then recently founded at Oxford by cardinal Wolsey. This offer he declined to accept, and continued at Cambridge, employed in the pursuit of his favourite studies, and in the education of youth.

While the court was in its progress at Waltham, Cranmer with two of his pupils was there, being obliged to leave Cambridge on account of the plague. Gardiner and Fox were both in attendance on the king, and were lodged in the same house where Cranmer resided. He was known both to the secretary and almoner, not only by reputation, but by personal acquaintance, and they were naturally induced to hear his sentiments on a topic which generally engrossed conversation. The legates had suspended their decision, and had adjourned the court, the avocation of the cause to Rome had been decreed, and Campeggio had taken

August.

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leave of the king, just at the time when this interview happened.

At first Cranmer declined to give an opinion on a question of such magnitude; but on being strongly pressed, stated that, in his judgment, the most satisfactory way of arriving at a determination was merely to ascertain whether the marriage was contrary to the law of God. If that point were decided, then no dispensation from the pope could make that lawful which by the divine law was unlawful. For this reason, he thought that, instead of a protracted and fruitless negotiation at Rome, it would be preferable to consult the universities and the learned men of Christendom. If these determined that the marriage was contrary to the law of God, the pope, urged by such an authority, would be compelled to proceed to a definitive sentence; or the papal dispensation for the marriage of Henry and Catherine being found originally void, as granted in contradiction to the law of God, the marriage would be void without any formal sentence of dissolution.

This opinion was stated with diffidence, and was received, not as a profound discovery, but as a natural though happy conclusion. Its propriety was so evident, that while some have denied the suggestion to be indicative of any extraordinary sagacity in Cranmer, others have denied to him the merit of being its author. The proposal of consulting the universities on the question of the divorce has been attributed in the first instance to Wolsey*. But even if the fact be admitted, that

* Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 444.

the expedient had been advised by the cardinal, yet as a member of the sacred college, and a devoted friend of the apostolic see, he would not have consulted the universities with a view, by their authority, to bear down or to bias the decision of the pope.

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The truth of the popular relation, after all cavils, will stand unshaken; that the suggestion originated in Cranmer; that it was thought both by Fox and Gardiner to be worthy of communication to the king; that Gardiner wished to appropriate it to himself; but that Fox more ingenuously attributed it to Cranmer. If the suggestion had not possessed something of novelty and originality, it would not have been received with such eagerness and gratification by Henry. Though the subject had for many years absorbed his thoughts, yet he declared himself strongly affected by the light which had then been thrown on it. Had he known it sooner, he might have been spared vast expense and great inquietude, and having expressed his approbation in a homely proverb*, he commanded that Cranmer should be summoned to the court.

Cranmer was a man who rather avoided notice than sought preferment, and it was not till after more than one message that he was induced to appear before Henry. The favourable impression which he had made by report, was confirmed by a conference. He again repeated his opinion that the universities of Europe should be consulted, and the advice was approved. But a previous task was imposed on him by his sovereign, of writing a trea-

* That he had the right sow by the ear.

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tise on the question of the divorce, and he was commanded particularly to direct his attention to this question: whether the bishop of Rome had authority to dispense with the law of God revealed in the Scriptures? During the time allotted for the performance of his labours, he was recommended by Henry to the patronage and hospitality of the father of Anne Boleyn, then newly created earl of Wiltshire. When the treatise was finished and presented, its author offered to defend it in a disputation before the bishop of Rome, if the king would send him thither. Henry handsomely expressed his approbation of the treatise by replying: "Then I shall send you even to him on a sure errand*."

1530.

The suggestion of Cranmer was now carried into execution, and preparations were made for consulting the universities at home and in foreign countries, together with the most learned individuals in theology and in the civil and canon law. It was thought advisable to begin with the universities at home, and a royal letter was addressed to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, requiring their decision on the validity of a marriage with a brother's wife.

February.

The decision of the university of Cambridge was the more expeditious in its return, but, although ultimately satisfactory, was not obtained without great opposition†. The doctrines of the reformation had made considerable progress there, and of

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, and Strype's Life of Cranmer.

† Letter from Gardiner and Fox to the king, in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 2. Appendix, No. 32.

the reformers at Cambridge, Cranmer was at the head. His treatise on the divorce had the effect of identifying the question with the reformation, and therefore all who were opposed to religious innovation ranged themselves in opposition to the divorce. An attempt was at first made to exclude any discussion of the question, for it was alleged that not a single man of eminence in the whole university could approach it with impartiality: all who approved the treatise of Cranmer had prejudged the question. After a long time consumed in this debate, it was at length proposed to refer the case to a select number, but this proposition was at first rejected; but on the succeeding day it was resolved, that the matter should be referred to twenty-nine persons, and that the university seal should be affixed to the determination of two-thirds of this number. When the question of the divorce was first moved, its lawfulness was decided in the negative; when put to the vote a second time, the assembly was divided in nearly equal proportions; but when proposed a third time, it was carried in the affirmative by the proportion required. The seal of the university was affixed to an instrument, declaring that the king's marriage was contrary to the law of God.

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Though the determination of Oxford was slow in its return, yet it was more satisfactory in its result, as well as in the mode of its procurement. Notwithstanding some objections adduced by the enemies of the reformation*, the proceedings appear to have been conducted with fairness. Long-

April.

* Anthony Wood and Sanders.

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land, bishop of Lincoln, was sent thither with a letter from the king, requiring the decision of the university, and it having been read in convocation, a unanimous resolution was passed to refer the matter to thirty-three doctors and bachelors in divinity. The university seal was to be affixed to the determination of this committee, and accordingly an instrument was statutably authenticated, declaring that a marriage with a brother's wife was contrary to the law of God and of nature*.

The decisions of the English universities were thus obtained by a royal mandate, but it was necessary to obtain the opinions of foreign universities and learned individuals by another method. Richard Crooke, tutor of the duke of Richmond, was sent into Italy, while other agents of Henry were sent into Germany and France. Crooke was indefatigable in fulfilling the office assigned to him, though he complained heavily of his poverty as a public inconvenience not less than a personal calamity. He travelled under no recognized character, but simply with a recommendation to John Cassali, the Venetian ambassador, in order to obtain admittance into the public libraries of Venice. There he consulted the Greek manuscripts in the library of Saint Mark, and examined the decrees of the general councils. Having finished his researches at Venice, he visited Padua, Bologna, and other cities of note, and at last proceeded to Rome.

At Rome was a special English legation, of which the earl of Wiltshire was at the head, and

* Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.*, has preserved the record.

on which the principal attendants were Stokesley, bishop of London, and Cranmer. The object of Cranmer was to fulfil his promise of defending his treatise before the pope or the emperor. The ambassadors, in the presence of the pope, offered in behalf of the king of England to defend these two propositions: 1. that a marriage with a brother's wife was prohibited by the law of God; 2. that the bishop of Rome had no right to dispense with this prohibition. Many different days were appointed for a disputation on these two propositions, yet no disputation took place. Cranmer having received from the pope the compliment of being appointed penitentiary, or confessor, to the king of England, left Rome, and went into Germany.

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Stokesley brought with him full instructions to Crooke for the prosecution of his inquiries. The opponents of the divorce rested their arguments chiefly on this point, that though the Levitical law prohibited a marriage with the wife of a brother, yet the law of Deuteronomy not only allowed but commanded such a marriage. It was there commanded, that when a man died without issue, his brother should marry the widow; and it was contended that the law of Deuteronomy was an abrogation of the law of Leviticus, or at least was a dispensation of it in any particular case. Crooke was directed to consult the Jewish rabbins on this apparent contradiction of the Mosaical law, and the contradiction was reconciled by the following solution: that the law of marrying the wife of a deceased brother when he died without issue was binding in the land of Judea only, and therefore

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was of temporary as well as local obligation. In Judea it was a useful regulation to preserve families, and maintain the succession to the inheritance of land as it had been divided among the tribes of Israel. But in all other parts of the world, and under the existing circumstances of the Jewish nation, the Levitical law was binding, and the prohibition against marrying a brother's wife was in force.

These inquiries were pursued by Crooke abstractedly, and without reference to the question in agitation. At first it was not known on whose agency he was employed, and he pursued his researches without molestation, but as soon as the fact was discovered, every effort was used to defeat his purposes. No one was more active against the king of England than Campeggio, who had ample means of misrepresenting the question, as well as of influencing public opinion. Not the indefatigable exertions of Crooke, but the force of truth alone, in spite of his impediments, could have procured so many concurrent testimonies in support of Henry's cause.

Of the universities in Italy which decided in favour of the divorce, Bologna ought first to be mentioned, as being situated within the limits of the ecclesiastical state. There the debate turned on this particular question, whether the law of Leviticus was obligatory on the Christian church?

June 10.

The determination was affirmative, that this law is still in force, and binding universally both Christians and infidels, being a part of the law of nature, as well as of the law of Moses and of God. Consequently, all marriages within the Levitical laws

were unlawful, and the pope had no authority to dispense with them.

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The university of Padua, after some days of public disputation, determined that a marriage with a brother's wife was to be abominated by a Christian, as being prohibited by natural, human, and divine law. It was also determined, that the pope could not, for any cause, dispense with such a marriage; since his authority extends not to any prohibition of the divine law, but is confined to those matters which are cognizable by human tribunals. The university of Ferrara had also determined against the validity of a marriage with a brother's wife, but through the intrigues of the imperial party, the instrument could not be obtained.

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July 1.

By the means of other agents employed by Henry, the decisions of the principal universities in France were procured. The celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne, whose decisions were regarded as equally valid with the decrees of general councils, entered into a discussion of the question with all possible solemnity. The college first met at the church of Saint Mathurin, where a mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated, after which every individual member bound himself by an oath to study the matter with diligence, and to resolve it conscientiously. After being employed in diligent research during nearly a month, in examining the Scriptures, the councils, and the fathers, and in framing arguments, it was determined, by a majority of the faculty, that the king of England's marriage was unlawful, and that the pope had no power to dispense with it. The faculty of the canon law at Paris¹, the university

July 2.

¹ May 28.

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III.² April 7.³ June 10.⁴ May 7.⁵ Oct. 1.

of Orleans², the faculty of divinity at Bruges³, the faculties of civil and canon law at Angiers⁴, and the whole university of Thoulouse⁵, came to a similar determination.

Great labour was employed, not only in consulting academical and other public bodies, but in ascertaining the opinions of learned individuals, and especially of those who favoured the reformation. It has been said that this last measure was adopted by the advice of the duke of Suffolk. Wise was the advice; for while the variety of these opinions evinced that they were formed without concert, and that the question was determined solely on its own merits, their preponderance was decidedly in favour of Henry.

Erasmus was supposed to be friendly to the divorce, but could not be induced to make a public declaration of his sentiments. He lived within the dominions of the emperor, and to incur the resentment of the powerful by freedom of speech, was not one of his virtues. Œcolampadius delivered his decision, that the law of Leviticus was of universal obligation, and that the law of Deuteronomy was binding on the Jews only. Bucer thought differently: he maintained that the Levitical law did not bind universally, and that it could not be a moral law, because it was dispensed with by God himself; and, therefore, to marry a brother's wife was not more sinful than to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath day, or to transgress any other ceremonial precept.

The opinion of Zuinglius was delivered at large. He began by proving, that neither the papal nor any other power could dispense with the law of

God : he next showed that the apostles had made no alteration in the Jewish law of marriage, but had left the ordinance as they found it ; and concluded by proving that the marriage of near degrees of affinity or consanguinity was regarded with abomination even by the heathen nations. His judgment was, that if the marriage were unlawful it should be immediately dissolved, but that the dissolution of the marriage should not have a retrospective effect, and render its issue illegitimate.

Calvin, who obtained great celebrity in early youth, and whose studies had been directed to the civil law, was not omitted in the list of reformers. He was clear in his judgment* that the marriage was null ; and that by the law of Leviticus the king of England was justified in putting away Catherine. To the objection that the law of Leviticus against marrying a brother's wife was intended to refer to a living brother, he replied, with great acuteness, that such an interpretation was inadmissible, because all the prohibited degrees were forbidden in the same terms, and must be understood in the same sense. With respect to the law of Deuteronomy, which commanded the marriage of a brother's widow for the purpose of perpetuating a family, he thought that, according to the Hebrew idiom, the word " brother " might signify a near kinsman. Such an interpretation would at once reconcile the two laws, and it was illustrated by the history of Ruth and Boaz.

* *Calvini Epist.* 384. Neither the date, nor the name of the person to whom the epistle was addressed, is preserved. *Burnet's Hist. of the Reform.* vol. i. b. 2 *Collier, Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 4, doubts the authenticity of this letter ; but without sufficient reason.

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Contrary accounts have been given concerning the sentiments of Melancthon. It has been said, without sufficient authority, that he advised the king to have two wives, and justified polygamy from the Old Testament; but it is rather probable that he declined to approve a second marriage, though the first might have been originally unlawful. Most of the Lutheran divines, with the exception of Osiander, who defended the divorce in a treatise, were unfavourable to a second marriage.

The decisions of the universities and of other public bodies were collected principally by Crooke, and were transmitted to England through Stokesley. So many and so respectable testimonies could not be easily repelled; and therefore, to weaken their force, it was insinuated that they were obtained by corrupt methods. It has not been sufficiently considered, by those who have made the charge, that it involves the integrity of some of the best friends of the church of Rome, and that, if it were true, the soundness of the opinions on an abstract question like that of the validity of Henry's marriage would not be impaired. That remuneration was generally offered, both to public bodies and individuals, and that it was often accepted, may be safely granted; but it was no more than a reasonable compensation for the time bestowed in research; it was precisely of that nature and amount which a professor of the law always receives as the fair and honorary reward of his labours.

Among the few who opposed the divorce by their writings, it is sufficient to mention no others

than Fisher, bishop of Rochester, cardinal Cajetan, and Victoria. If their treatises be read without partiality, it must be seen how little they could urge in defence of the cause which they had espoused; and the conclusion will be inevitable that, if right feeling were on the side of Catherine, irrefragable argument was on the side of Henry. His advocates proved to a demonstration that a marriage with a brother's wife was contrary to scripture, to tradition, to the canons of the church, and to universal practice.

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When a large number of these decisions had been collected and transmitted to Henry, he resolved to follow the advice originally given by Cranmer. He determined to publish to the world the result of his inquiries, and to renew his application to the pope. That the application might have more weight, it emanated from some of the most distinguished characters in the realm, and it might be styled aptly the petition of the nobles, prelates, clergy, and commons of England. Among the subscribers of this petition was Wolsey, who then resided at Southwell, a palace belonging to the see of York, and who possessed great reputation and influence in the northern part of the kingdom*.

The purport of the address was, that the petitioners resorted to this measure in consequence of their near relation to the king of England. The king's cause, in the judgment of the learned

July 13.

* It was signed by two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquesses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners. See Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* and Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey.*

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men and of the universities of England, France, and Italy, was now found to be just; that even in a common case such testimonies ought to have due weight, and still more when they regarded a king and a kingdom to which the holy see was so deeply indebted. But since neither the justice of the cause nor the king's most earnest desires had prevailed, they were obliged to complain of such conduct towards a prince who, by his power and his pen, had supported the catholic faith. If justice were still denied, the petitioners apprehended that the calamities attendant on civil war might ensue. These could be prevented only by the king's marriage with another wife, by whom he might expect issue. If the pope refused to annul the present marriage, they must conclude that they were abandoned by him, and must be obliged to seek other remedies. Such an extremity they were anxious to prevent, and they would never resort to it until relief from him was hopeless.

Sept. 27.

To this address the pope made a becoming reply. He first noticed the vehemence of their language, which he forgave, since he imputed it to their affection for their prince. They had charged him with ingratitude and injustice, two heavy imputations. He acknowledged the great obligations which he owed to their king, which were far greater than had been expressed by themselves; obligations due both from the holy see and from himself personally. Thus much as to his gratitude; and so far had he been from denying justice to the king, that he had been charged with partiality towards him. At the king's request he had granted a commission to two legates, but from their de-

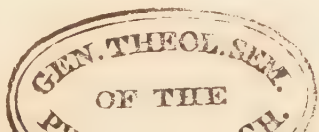
cision the queen had appealed. He had delayed the admission of the appeal as long as possible, but when he could no longer refuse, the cardinals in consistory had unanimously allowed the appeal, and granted an avocation of the cause. Since the avocation, the king, so far from expediting the trial, had by his own ambassadors moved for its delay. In this posture the cause still remained, and he could not give sentence in an affair of such consequence when it was not even solicited. As to the determinations of universities and learned men, he had seen none of them from the king's ambassadors. It was true that some had been conveyed to him indirectly, but they contained conclusions without any reasons. He had heard many forcible arguments on the other side, and therefore he could not decide with precipitation, till both sides were fully heard. He expressed his hearty wishes that the king might have issue; but this event depended on God, and not on him. As to their threats of seeking other remedies, they were agreeable neither to wisdom nor religion; therefore he admonished them to abstain from such counsels, and reminded them that the obstinacy of the patient is not to be imputed to the physician.

Before this rescript of the pope reached England, Henry issued a proclamation against all persons who purchased bulls, dispensations, or pardons from Rome, or elsewhere, contrary to his prerogatives and authority. The proclamation was founded on the statutes of "præmunire" and "provisors," and was preparatory to the arrest of Wolsey for high treason.

From the time when this great prelate left Esher,

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he had retired by the king's command to his diocess of York, that being his highest English dignity and his greatest charge*. There, in comparative obscurity, removed from the intrigues of state and renouncing the projects of ambition, he had applied himself to fulfil the sacred duties of his function. With his diminished revenues, the munificence of his temper was not abated; and his benevolence, no longer debased by haughtiness and ostentation, gained universal esteem†. In the days of his political greatness he had forgotten his pastoral care, but now he delighted in performing its most laborious offices. It does not appear that he had ever visited his metropolitan city until he was banished from court, and it is certain that he had never been installed in his cathedral. He was on the eve of performing that solemnity, "not for any triumph of glory," but in compliance with the ancient statutes of the church of York, when he was arrested on a charge of treason by the earl of Northumberland. Rather from a conviction that his innocence would not avert his impending ruin than from a consciousness of guilt, his fortitude entirely deserted him. With apparent cheerfulness he submitted to leave his castle at Cawood, and began his journey; but, before he had completed it, death removed him from the malice of his enemies. Having sent his assurances of fidelity to that master whom he had served with more devotion than his God, he recommended with his dying breath the suppression of Lutheran doc-

Nov. 29.

* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

† This portion of the cardinal's life has been ably vindicated from the censure of Fox by Wordsworth. *Eccles. Biog.* vol. i.

trines. He exemplified Bohemia at that time, and England under Richard the Second, as proofs that a spoliation of the church is a prelude to rebellion, and the ruin of monarchical government *.

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By the death of Wolsey, the strongest link which connected the church of England with that of Rome was severed; and Henry was now free to prosecute his plans of ecclesiastical reform.

In the beginning of the next year the parliament assembled, and concurrently with it the convocation. The question of the divorce was fairly brought before the parliament, in the following manner. The king first sent to the house of lords the determinations of the universities, and the treatises of other learned foreigners, in favour of his cause. When these documents had been read there, the lord chancellor More, with twelve other lords, both spiritual and temporal, went down to the house of commons. The documents were produced by the chancellor for the inspection of the house, and twelve original decisions of different universities, duly authenticated, were read aloud, sir Brian Tuke rendering the Latin into English. The lord chancellor desired that the members would report in their different counties what they had heard and seen; and then it would be evinced that the king had not attempted his divorce merely of his own will and pleasure, as strangers affirmed, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession to the crown.

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The question was also brought before the con-

* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

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vocation, and there it was determined that the bull of Julius the Second was invalid, and the marriage founded on it unlawful. But the determination of this assembly cannot be adduced as being of any weight; for the whole body of the clergy was at this time visited by a penal infliction, which prevented freedom of deliberation.

It was an unworthy display of vindictive justice, to exact from Wolsey the penalties of a “*præmunire*,” for exercising his legatine power with the license of the king. It was an unparalleled act of oppression to involve the clergy in a similar punishment for submitting to the authority of the cardinal, whom it was not possible for them to oppose. Their consternation, then, cannot easily be described, when an indictment was brought into the court of king’s bench against all the clergy of England, for an infringement of the statute of “*præmunire*.”

Vain, they knew, would have been the plea of ignorance of the statute; for of the law no one can be presumed to be ignorant, and ignorance cannot be pleaded in justification of any offence. Equally vain would have been the plea that the king himself had permitted a violation of the law; or, that the disobedience of the clergy to the legatine authority of the cardinal would have involved them in ruin; or, that their obedience was beneficial to the king, and detrimental to themselves alone. To either or all of these pleas they knew that an answer was ready; that the statute was still in force, though negligently executed; that its violation by the clergy was a matter of public

notoriety; and that by its violation they had put themselves out of the king's protection*. Yet they were informed that, although they had subjected themselves to a confiscation of their entire property, they might still receive the pardon of the crown, on a reasonable composition, together with a full submission to the royal authority in ecclesiastical matters.

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A submission was therefore prepared by the convocation of the province of Canterbury. In this instrument the king was styled the protector and supreme head of the church of England. An objection was made to the title, and its propriety occasioned a debate; but Cromwell, who had succeeded Wolsey in the administration of public affairs, came to the house, and succeeded in gaining from it a full acknowledgment of the king's supremacy. The measure passed in silent discontent, but without active opposition; for Warham, having put the question, said, "that silence was to be taken for consent," and a member present answered, "Then we are all silent." It appears that to the original submission a clause was added, acknowledging the king to be head of the church, as far as is agreeable to the law of Christ; and with this clause the instrument received the assent of nine bishops, sixty-two abbots and priors, in the upper house, together with a majority of the lower house. A petition was subjoined, that the king would accept a fixed fine in lieu of all penalties which

* *Rigida enim provisionum jura, non modo eos puniunt qui Romanas legationes sine regis licentiâ suscipiunt, sed qui iis parent.* Ant. Brit. Eccles. in Warhamo.

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the clergy had incurred by a breach of the statute of “provisors*.”

The clergy of the province of York urged the same objections to the title of the petition, and were bold enough to transmit their reasons for declining to acknowledge the king supreme head of the church. But a severe reprimand from the king soon reduced them to obedience: they offered a similar petition to the province of Canterbury, and voted a sum by way of fine proportionably equal†.

The royal pardon was then granted to the offending clergy; but when, according to custom, it was brought into the house of commons to receive its assent, great dissatisfaction arose, because that body was not included in it. The commons as well as the clergy had offended against the statute of “provisors,” and consequently were liable to similar penalties. They naturally inferred that the same hard measure might hereafter be dealt out to themselves, and that they might be obliged to redeem their transgression of the statute by a mulct equally grievous. To avert such a calamity, they sent some of their members with their speaker, representing their extreme sorrow at finding themselves excluded from the pardon granted to the king’s spiritual subjects, and praying to be comprehended within it. On this representation the pardon was granted gratuitously, but not graciously. The king answered, that the commons ought neither to restrain nor to force his clemency, and that it was free to him either to execute or to mitigate the severity of the law. He would be well advised before he granted their pardon, that it might not

* £100,000.

† £18,840.

seem to be granted by compulsion. The act of grace was therefore delayed a sufficient time, to show that it was not elicited by the petition, but that it was a spontaneous act of royal benevolence. It was conceded that all the temporal subjects of the realm should be pardoned their transgression of the statute of "provisors;" and the boon was received with a suitable acknowledgment that there was a just mixture of majesty and clemency in the king's proceedings.

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This important and easy triumph of Henry over the parliament and the convocation could not fail to excite alarm in the mind of the pope. He saw too late that England was ready to renounce her obedience to the apostolic see; and, from what had been already done with respect to the statute of "provisors," he concluded that more would be attempted in prejudice of the papal jurisdiction. His alliance with the emperor was at an end, and he had contracted his niece in marriage with the duke of Orleans. At this juncture he was strongly inclined to grant the divorce; but the imperial interest in the college of cardinals was predominant, and the conclave was prepared to resist such a proposition. He was therefore compelled to wait the issue, and to regulate his conduct by future contingencies.

Another session of the English parliament was sufficient to convince the pope that his fears and surmises were just. However the king and his parliament might differ on some other points of policy, they cordially co-operated in repressing the authority of the see of Rome. One statute* passed in

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* 23 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

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this session provided against citing any person out of the diocese wherein he resided, except in cases of prerogative administration in the archbishop's court, or in cases of heresy. In another*, the foundation of a breach was laid between England and Rome, by restraining the payment of first-fruits and annates. The statute stated that these payments were not sanctioned by any law, and that the court of Rome had no other method of enforcing them than by withholding its bulls; that they were originally paid to defend Christendom against infidels, but were now claimed as a debt, against all right and conscience; that these payments, from the second year of king Henry the Seventh to that time, had amounted to eight hundred thousand ducats; and that large additional sums were likely soon to be carried out of the kingdom, in consequence of the great age of several of the prelates, and the probability of a speedy vacancy in their sees. On these accounts it was enacted that all payments of first-fruits and annates to the court of Rome should be abolished, and for ever restrained, under the penalty of confiscation of goods and the profits of the benefice. In case the court of Rome should refuse or withhold its bulls and other instruments necessary for the consecration of any bishop, the bishop elect should nevertheless receive consecration from the archbishop of the province, and any elected archbishop should be consecrated by four bishops appointed by royal commission; and such archbishop or bishop should enjoy all rights belonging to his respective see in the most ample manner. Yet that the pope might have no just cause of com-

* 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

plaint, the prelates presented to their bishoprics were allowed to pay five pounds in every hundred of the clear profits of their bishoprics.

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It was evident from the terms in which these statutes were expressed, that Henry did not intend his rupture with the pope to be either immediate or total. They were designed as a temperate measure, to bring the wavering Clement to an accommodation. This last statute against first-fruits did not therefore at the time of its enactment receive the royal assent, but was to be a provisional regulation till the king had compounded the claim with the pope, or prevailed on the pope altogether to renounce it. In the mean time the whole conduct of the transaction was left to the king, who was empowered to declare, within a certain period, whether the statute should be in force or not, and it was not till several months after it had passed the parliament that it was ratified by letters patent.

Remonstrances were again urged by Henry for the settlement of his divorce, and were conveyed in language less respectful to the pope than formerly. The king imputed the mistakes of the holy father to the rashness and ignorance of the counsellors of the consistorial court, but for these the pontiff was culpably responsible: he had not demeaned himself as became the vicar of Jesus Christ, but had acted with inconstancy and deceit. When the king's cause was first propounded, the pope had granted a commission, with a promise not to recall it, but to confirm the sentence which the legates might decree. If this commission were rightly granted, to revoke it was a flagrant act of injustice: if it were rightly revoked, to grant it

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originally was not less unjust. The king perceived that the apostolic see was destitute of that learning which it ought to possess; for the pope had on one occasion professed his ignorance of the canon law. Many universities in France, England, and even in Italy, had decided that his marriage was illegal, and that the papal bull was a nullity. No prince had ever shown greater deference to the see of Rome than himself. He was sorry even now to write in such harsh language, but forbearance was impossible. He added, that he did not intend to impugn the papal authority any farther, unless he were compelled to do it; for all which he had already done was to reduce that authority within its ancient limits. Therefore he earnestly desired the holy father to conform himself to the opinions of so many learned men, and to fulfil his duty*.

This spirited remonstrance produced no other effect than that of calling forth from the pope a citation, commanding the king of England to appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy, to answer the queen's appeal. The citation was met, on the part of Henry, by sending sir Edward Karne to Rome as his excusator, that is, to plead his excuse for not obeying the mandate. In this capacity Karne was instructed, first, to insist on the excusatory pleas that might be found in the canon law; and these not availing, secondly, to insist on the prerogatives of the English crown. Karne was accompanied on this embassy by Boner, whose bold and impetuous temper was at this early period of his life sufficiently conspicuous.

* Lord Herbert's *Life of Hen. VIII.* and Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. b. 2. Appendix. No. 42.

On the arrival of Karne and Boner at Rome, they found that the imperial party prevailed in the conclave. The moderate and impartial part foresaw the separation of England from the holy see, and that the statute lately passed in the English parliament against first-fruits was a demonstration of the union between the king and his people. The ambassadors informed the pope, in answer to his expostulations concerning this statute, that its ratification depended entirely on the king, and that the king, unless provoked, had no intention of putting it in execution.

As to the primary object of the embassy, no progress was made, after a delay of several months. The cardinal of Ravenna was corruptly gained over to the cause of Henry, and Providellus, the most able canonist in Italy, was openly retained in his service; yet with these aids the affair was not expedited. After several sessions had been consumed in fruitless altercation, it was formally announced in the consistory that the king's excusatory plea should neither be allowed nor rejected, but that the king should be required to send his proxy before the ensuing winter. Boner, however, received a private intimation from the cardinals favourable to Henry, that the excusatory plea could not be admitted, for the matter could be judged only by the pope in his own consistory. At the same time assurances were given that the king had no cause to fear the partiality of the pope towards the emperor, from whom he was completely alienated.

A short prorogation of his parliament supplied Henry with leisure to arrange his future attacks against the see of Rome. When that body re-

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assembled, the king sent to the house of commons by their speaker, submitting to their consideration that the prelates of the realm, who were the subjects of the king, yielded to him only a divided allegiance. At their consecration they took an oath of obedience to the pope in direct contradiction to their oath of obedience to the king. This contradiction was referred to the commons, who were required to make such an order in the matter "that the king might not be deluded." The two oaths were read in the house, and their contradiction was so evident that it would soon have called forth censure and correction. But the plague which then raged in the metropolis prevented any further proceeding, and in consequence of this calamity the parliament was suddenly prorogued.

- May 14. Soon after the session had closed, an event happened which excited a strong sensation in the minds of the people, and gave rise to contradictory surmises. This event was the resignation of sir Thomas More. He pleaded, and pleaded truly, infirmity of body for his retirement, and earnestly solicited that he might be discharged from his high office, and be allowed to pass the remaining part of his life in spiritual exercises. But it was generally believed that his real motive for withdrawing into privacy was dissatisfaction at the king's proceedings. As a lawyer he had concurred in putting in ure the statute against "provisors," though, as a man of right feeling, he could not but condemn its harsh and inequitable application. He would have restrained the illegal jurisdiction exercised by the popes, and therefore had assented to the statute against first-fruits. But when he perceived that
- May 16.

a complete subversion of the papal authority was contemplated, he declined to take any share in the public counsels. His resignation was received by Henry with a kindness and regret equally sincere, and he was dismissed with this flattering testimony of regard: "Sir Thomas, if there be any thing that shall concern your honour, or pertain to your profit, you shall always find us your good and gracious lord, and so make your account of us *."

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An event of greater importance to the interests of the church at this crisis than the resignation of More occurred in the death of Warham. This importance was not derived from the influential character of Warham, but from the weight which his successor must necessarily possess in determining the future condition of the church of England, and whether it was to be re-united to, or finally separated from, the Romish see. Throughout all the proceedings of Henry, Warham had shown a sullen acquiescence, and in some of them had openly concurred, by promoting them in parliament and convocation. But in the last year of his life, he made a secret protestation, before three public notaries and four other witnesses, of which the substance was, that whatever statutes had passed, or were to pass, in the parliament then sitting, to the prejudice of the pope or the apostolic see, or in derogation or diminution of the rights of his see of Canterbury, he did not consent to them, but thereby, and by virtue of his protestation, disowned and dissented from them †.

Aug. 23

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* Life of Sir Thomas More, Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. vol. ii.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 2. Appendix, No. 23.

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The fact is here simply mentioned, without drawing from it a single harsh inference. Of all infirmities, the timid reservations, the unsteady resolves, or the unexecuted purposes, of extreme age, are least obnoxious to human censure. They are to be remitted to THAT BEING whose judgment they must so shortly await, to THAT BEING "WHO KNOWETH OUR FRAME."

CHAPTER IV.

Promotion of Cranmer to the Primacy.—Previous Marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn.—Statute against Appeals.—Convocation decides against the Validity of Catherine's Marriage.—Cranmer pronounces the Sentence of Divorce, and confirms the Marriage of Anne Boleyn.—Proceedings at Rome.—Statutes passed in Parliament against the Papal Authority.—Acts confirming the King's Supremacy, and regulating the Succession.—Execution of Fisher and More.

By the death of Warham, the arduous duty was imposed on Henry of selecting a person to fill the highest dignity in the English church, under circumstances the most critical. It is certain that the selection was his own deliberate if not unbiassed act; for advice would probably have been received by him with distaste, and direct interference would have been repelled with indignation. Justice, as well to himself as to the object of his choice, requires that his motives should be vindicated from the insinuation commonly imputed, that the qualifications which he sought in the future archbishop were base assentation and unprincipled compli-
ance.

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To accompany him in his projects of renouncing the papal supremacy, or of promoting his divorce, could not have been contemplated as the only prerequisites. On the first point he had not finally resolved; but the probable inclination of his mind was to accommodate his differences with the pon-

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tiff, and to bring his kingdoms to a state of limited subjection to the see of Rome. On the second point he was doubtless inflexible; but, far from finding an impediment to his wishes among the English prelates and divines, the majority entirely agreed with him, and had already afforded a zealous co-operation. If the primacy had been conferred either as a reward for past exertions or as a bribe for future services in this affair, he might have been embarrassed in his choice. He had already experienced, and might have safely trusted, the diligence of Stokesley, the dexterity of Gardiner, and the forwardness of Boner. But, by fixing on Cranmer, he proved that he was not influenced by sinister considerations; and, at the same time, gave a decisive testimony to the merit of that distinguished individual.

Although the reputation of Cranmer was great as an academician, yet as an ecclesiastic he was almost unknown. His appointments in the church were inconsiderable, and these were not of long possession*. Since the time that he had quitted the embassy of the earl of Wiltshire at Rome, he had resided in Germany. There he had cultivated the friendship of the most eminent Lutheran reformers, and there he received the intimation of the high dignity for which he had been so unexpectedly designated.

That Cranmer unwillingly accepted the prof-

* Cranmer, before his promotion to the see of Canterbury, was archdeacon of Taunton, and the king's penitentiary, to which last office he had been appointed by the pope. He had also a benefice conferred on him by the king. Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, b. i. c. 4.

tered office may be allowed even by those who have formed the lowest estimate of his character. A man of less modesty, or rather of higher ambition, than himself, might have declined a situation of such responsibility and danger. He obeyed the summons to return to England, but obeyed it slowly, and still lingered in Germany. This reluctance only tended to confirm Henry in his resolution; and Cranmer, after many entreaties to be exempted from so heavy a burden, at length yielded to the royal will.

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A statute had already been enacted against procuring bulls and dispensations from Rome; but on this occasion the king availed himself of the power vested in him, of suspending its execution. The first protestant archbishop of Canterbury was consecrated by the authority of a papal mandate. It may be assumed that Clement, from his former reminiscences of Cranmer, was averse from the appointment; but he had no wish to provoke the anger of Henry, or to precipitate a rupture with England. Unwillingly therefore he consented to the promotion, and transmitted to Henry the last bulls which were received in England during his reign.

Some of these instruments were directed to the archbishop elect; and these Cranmer delivered to the king for examination*. Among them was a mandate for his consecration, on condition of his taking the oath prescribed by the pontifical. The dislike of this oath was probably one of the motives which at first induced him to refuse the primacy,

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. i. c. 4.

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and he retained his scruples of taking it as the time of his consecration approached. He unreservedly declared that many parts of the canon law ought to be reformed, and that the obligation imposed by this oath would prevent him from engaging in such a reformation. When this objection was communicated to some of the canonists and casuists, they devised an expedient which agreed better with their own maxims than with the sincerity of Cranmer*, but which he was persuaded to adopt. Before he took the prescribed oath, he made a formal protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any measure to which he was bound by his duty, either to God, or to the king, or to the country; and that he renounced every part of the oath that was contrary to either of these obligations. This protestation he made in the chapel of Saint Stephen, at Westminster, before his consecration, and he repeated it when the consecration was performed†, immediately before he took the oath of obedience to the pope.

Previously to the consecration of Cranmer, Henry had been privately married to Anne Boleyn‡. The marriage ceremony was performed by Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Lichfield, in the presence of the duke of Norfolk, and the nearest relatives of the new queen. Cranmer, so far from officiating at the solemnity, was not only absent,

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, part i. b. 2.

† Cranmer was consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and Saint Asaph. Strype.

‡ The 25th of January, 1533, according to Stowe; and Cranmer confirms Stowe, in a letter to Hawkins, the ambassador to the emperor.

but was for some time afterwards ignorant that the event had taken place. Henry, having collected the decisions of so many public bodies and learned men in his favour, thought it superfluous to wait longer for any sentence, declaring the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine, but acted on the presumption of its original nullity.

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In a session of parliament, assembled before Cranmer had any voice in its deliberations, the breach with the pope was widened by a statute against all appeals to the see of Rome*. The preamble of the act stated that the crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, having full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal. Among the English spirituality, there had been at all times, and there were then, men of sufficient integrity to declare and determine all controversies arising within the kingdom. Successive kings, as Edward the First and Third, Richard the Second, and Henry the Fourth, by severe laws, had preserved the liberties of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates; but these statutes had not sufficiently provided against appeals in causes of matrimony and divorce. In such causes, not only the king and his subjects were compelled to incur great charges, but justice was inconveniently delayed. The distance of Rome was such that evidences and witnesses could not, without great trouble, be conveyed thither. For these reasons it was enacted, that all such causes,

Feb. 4.

* St. 24 H. VIII. c. 22.

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IV. subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom, in the several courts to which they belonged, and the sentences of these courts were to be fully executed by all subordinate functionaries. Appeals were to proceed in the following gradations: from the archdeacon or his official to the bishop of the diocese or his commissary; from the bishop of the diocese to the archbishop of the province, or the dean of the Court of Arches, where the final determination was to be made without further process. But in any cause that regarded the king, or his heirs and successors, an appeal should lie to the upper house of convocation, where it should be determined finally, never again to be called in question.

The enactment of this statute was not only another step towards the liberation of the church of England from foreign control, but it was a demonstration of the sense of the parliament on the question of the king's divorce. It had a farther connexion with the proceedings of the convocation on this point, and was passed to give validity to the decision of that assembly.

During the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, the prior and convent of the metropolitan church in that city were the legal guardians of the spiritualities, and in that capacity they deputed the bishop of Saint Asaph to preside in the convocation. While that prelate represented the archbishop, the two houses were employed in considering the determinations of the foreign universities on the validity of the marriage, and also the probability of its consummation.

When Crammer had received his investiture, he immediately assumed the presidency of the convocation*; and two questions were formally proposed for its deliberation. The first† was on the abstract proposition, “Whether it was against the law of God, and indispensable by the pope, for a man to marry his brother’s wife, he being dead without issue, but having consummated the marriage?” The second was on the particular fact, “Whether prince Arthur had consummated his marriage with the queen?”

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The first question, when put to the vote of the lower house, fell under the determination of the divines only, and they composed a very small proportion of that body. Of these, fourteen voted for the affirmative, seven for the negative, one was doubtful, and one thought the prohibition moral, but yet dispensable by the pope. In the upper house, the debates were long; Stokesley, bishop of London, arguing for the affirmative, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, for the negative. But the majority for the affirmative was so large, that the minority, after a protracted discussion, retired, leaving the house to an unanimous decision.

The second question, as it fell under the cognizance of the canonists, was determined by the prelates and divines of that faculty. All the canonists of the lower house, with the exception of five or six, were for the affirmative, and the upper house

* Parker, *Antiq. Brit. vitâ Cranmer.*

† The first question is awkwardly expressed in the original minutes of the convocation, but has been shaped by Burnet in the form in which it stands in the text. Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, part i. b. 2.

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 IV. and Wells being the only dissentient.

These two questions were afterwards transmitted to the convocation of the province of York. There were present twenty-seven divines, who held the proxies of twenty-four absentees; and all, with the exception of two, voted for the affirmative of the first question. There were also present forty-four canonists, who held the proxies of five or six absentees; and, with the exception of two, they determined the second question in the affirmative.

The solemn decision of the English church, in its representative capacity, having been obtained, nothing remained but the formality of a judicial sentence declaratory of that decision. There was some delay in arranging the final process, and before it commenced, an attempt was made to induce Catherine to acquiesce in the opinions of so many universities and learned men, and to lay aside the dignity of queen.

The conduct of Catherine was consistent and dignified: she rejected all terms of accommodation, and adhered to her appeal to the pope. When it was found that every mode of application was fruitless, then it was determined to pronounce a formal sentence of divorce. The process was completed by the following steps. Cranmer first wrote to the king*, stating that the world had been long scandalized at his pretended marriage, and that as metropolitan it was incumbent on him to see the

* Lingard calls this process a hypocritical farce; but Cranmer in his letter stated nothing more than Campeggio said in court, that it was a scandal for the king to live longer in a state of incest.—Lingard's History of England, vol. vi. c. 3. 8vo ed.

cause tried and determined: therefore he prayed a royal license to proceed. The license being obtained, both the king and queen were cited to appear before the archbishop. Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, was the place chosen for the court to hold its sessions, on account of its vicinity to Ampthill, the residence of Catherine, and that she might not plead ignorance of the process about to be concluded. The bishop of Lincoln sat as assessor to the archbishop, and Gardiner, now promoted to the see of Winchester, retained his place as leader of the king's counsel. The bishops of London, and of Bath and Wells, with many other divines and canonists, were present, either to assist by their advice, or to give countenance to the proceedings*.

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At the first session the king appeared by proxy to the citation, but the queen appeared not. On account of her non-appearance she was pronounced contumacious, and a second citation was issued, and afterwards a third. When she had refused to appear at these different citations, her contumacy was finally declared and recorded. On the succeeding sessions, the evidences already brought before the legates, concerning the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur, were read; then the determinations of the universities, with the opinions of eminent divines and canonists, were produced; and lastly, the recent and solemn judgments of the convocations of Canterbury and York were recited. Many sessions were thus employed, and, at the close of the evidence, sentence was

* Cranmer, in a letter to Hawkins, gives an account of the final sentence of divorce.

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pronounced with the advice of all present. The marriage between Henry and Catherine was adjudged to have been originally null, and they were declared to be divorced and separated from the matrimonial bond. In the sentence the archbishop was called by his ancient title, legate of the apostolic see, as well as primate of all England.

Sentence of divorce being thus passed, Cranmer with the rest of the court returned to London, and five days afterwards, by another sentence, he confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn, in general terms, and without assigning the reasons on which his sentence was founded*.

When this important affair, which had been so long and fiercely agitated, was brought to a termination, it was variously commented on and censured. Even those who approved the divorce condemned the conduct of Henry in marrying Anne Boleyn before his first marriage was formally dissolved. Cranmer incurred no small share of obloquy, although he was nothing more than the organ of the convocation, and pronounced a sentence which that assembly had ratified. It is impossible to deny that public opinion was biassed by the connexion which subsisted between the divorce and the reformation. The reformers had always looked forward with hope to the king's disunion from Catherine, since they expected to find protection from a new queen. They had once expected it from the duchess d'Alençon: they now expected it from Anne Boleyn.

June 1. The public acknowledgment of Anne as the

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. ii. b. 2. Appendix, No. 47.

royal consort preceded the sentence of divorce, and her coronation immediately followed it. Henry notified the event to the different courts of Europe by his ambassadors, and at the same time offered reasons in its justification. The emperor received the intelligence with coldness, and answered that he should deliberate on the course which it was expedient for him to pursue. The king of France expressed the most friendly sentiments towards Henry, yet joined with that deference towards the pope which the projected alliance between their families tended to excite.

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When the event was first known at Rome, the cardinals of the imperial party earnestly recommended that the most prompt and vigorous measures should be adopted: they pressed the pope to give a definitive sentence, and to proceed to execute spiritual censures against the king of England. But moderate counsels at this crisis prevailed. It was resolved merely to nullify the process and sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury, which, in the terms of the canon law, were styled attentates, or attempts, on the authority of the pope. A declaration was therefore issued, that whatever had been attempted in England concerning the suit of divorce was of no validity, and that the king by such attempts was liable to excommunication, unless within a reasonable time he restored matters to their former state. If he refused compliance, spiritual censures were to be applied, and the archbishop of Canterbury was threatened with a canonical process for his share in the transaction.

A personal interview between Clement and Francis took place soon afterwards, for the pur-

October.

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pose of completing the projected treaty of marriage between their families. Marseilles was the place of their meeting; and Francis, mindful of his friendly professions towards Henry, offered his mediation in accommodating the differences between England and the see of Rome. Gardiner and sir Edward Brian were sent by Henry to Marseilles as ambassadors to Francis, with a design of co-operating in an amicable adjustment with the pope. Boner was afterwards joined in the embassy, but for a purpose less conciliatory: he was instructed to deliver an appeal from the late sentence of the holy see to the next general council lawfully called; and Cranmer, being threatened with a process, delivered a similar appeal, to be communicated by Gardiner*.

Nov. 22.

The object of Boner's embassy, and his offensive manner of executing it, were not in accordance with the temper of Francis. This monarch is said to have obtained a promise from the pope that, if the king of England would submit himself to the judgment of the apostolic see, a decision should be given according to his wishes; and it was agreed between Francis and Clement that the cardinals of the imperial party should be excluded from any voice in this matter, since they must necessarily be prejudiced and incompetent judges.

When the interview between Francis and Clement had terminated, and the former had returned to Paris, Bellay, bishop of that diocese, was sent to England; and this prelate is said to have pre-

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii p. ii. b 2. Appendix, No. 24.

vailed with Henry to submit the whole affair to the consistory at Rome on the terms agreed at Marseilles. Such a promise must have been given by Henry privately, for his despatches to his ambassadors breathed a different spirit. They were instructed to say that their sovereign could not contentedly permit his cause to be tried out of the realm. Such a permission would violate his prerogatives and the laws, which by his oath at his coronation he was bound to maintain. The measure could not be adopted without the concurrence of his parliament, and that concurrence he did not expect. But if the pope would refer the determination of the matter to the church of England, and ratify the sentence which that church had already given, he would not only gain the obedience of the English king and people, but would secure the religious peace of all Christendom*.

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To secure a continuance of the friendly mediation of France, the duke of Norfolk addressed Montmorenci. He expressed a high satisfaction that the bishop of Paris had proceeded from England to Rome, and a hope that the negotiation might be brought to a happy conclusion. If the pope still persisted in his resolution of favouring the emperor, a complete subversion of his authority in England would be the unavoidable result. A belief had gained ground that the pope had no more authority out of Rome than any other bishop had out of his diocese, and that the usurpations of the Romish see arose from the connivance of weak princes. Of this the English prelates and divines

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Jan. 27.

* Letter to Boner and sir G. Cassali, in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

CHAP. were so confident, and supported their opinion by
 IV. — such weighty arguments, as to convince himself and other noblemen, as well as the great body of the people. If the king yielded to the popular feeling, the ensuing parliament would entirely withdraw the kingdom from its obedience to the pope, and other states might be induced to follow the example*.

It has been stated that Henry, on the representations of the bishop of Paris, consented to suspend the total separation of England from the Romish see, if the pope would consent to suspend the execution of the consistorial sentence against the king†. It is certain, however, that Bellay undertook a journey to Rome in a severe winter with a view of restoring harmony between the contending parties, and of preventing a schism in the church. The propositions of Francis, as they were acquiesced in by Henry, were submitted by Bellay to the consistory, and were deemed reasonable. A courier was therefore sent to England, to receive the written submission of the king, and the messenger was enjoined to return within a limited time.

The courier having failed to present himself at Rome within the time appointed, the cardinals of the imperial party urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence. On the other hand, the bishop of Paris implored both the pope and cardinals to delay the sentence till the expiration of six days.

* From Le Grand, quoted by Burnet, History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 2.

† Mem. du Bellay, brother to the bishop of Paris, in Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 2.

He forcibly represented that the messenger might have been unavoidably detained, and that as the king of England had been a patient suitor in the consistorial court during six years, a delay of six days was not too great an indulgence. This remonstrance was delivered by Bellay to a full consistory, and its justice was acknowledged by many of the cardinals; but the imperial party prevailed over the moderate portion of the consistory, and over the timid and vacillating pope. The definitive sentence was carried through with an unusual and indecent haste, and without the accustomed formalities. With a precipitation fatal to the see of Rome, a bull was issued, rescinding the sentence of divorce pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, confirming the marriage of Henry with Catherine, and pronouncing him excommunicated, if within a limited time he did not abandon Anne Boleyn, and return to the wife whom he had unjustly deserted. Two days after the publication of the definitive sentence, the messenger from England arrived, bringing with him the formal submission of Henry, and then many of the cardinals requested the pope to reconsider the matter in a consistory, and to retract the definitive sentence. The matter was again debated, but in the result the definitive sentence was confirmed, and the emperor was intrusted with its execution.

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March 23.

Whether this submission of Henry was even proffered, or whether, if proffered, it was sincere, is doubtful: it is still more doubtful whether, despotic as he was, he could have prevailed with his parliament to retrace its steps, and to have opposed

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the current of public opinion. Public discussions on the extent of the papal power were at this time frequent: the subject had been debated both in parliament and convocation, and many treatises had been circulated impugning the authority of the see of Rome. The whole prelacy, with the exception of Fisher, and all the leading divines, were united in opposing the papal supremacy. Gardiner and Boner were thus conjointly employed in editing a didactic treatise on true obedience*; Stokesley and Tonsal performed the same service in a controversial epistle to Reginald Pole. But a more efficacious mode of making an impression on the popular mind, in an age when there were few readers, was adopted with success: during the session of the ensuing parliament, a bishop preached on every Sunday at Saint Paul's cross, that the pope had no authority in England.

Jan. 15.

It was at the precise time when the submission of Henry was in its progress towards Rome that the parliament was convened, which did not separate till the emancipation of England from papal tyranny was completed. While Bellay was negotiating in the consistory, a bill originated in the

* The treatise of Gardiner, *de verâ obedientiâ*, was furnished with a preface by Boner, at that time archdeacon of Leicester. Gardiner has the following passage on the claim of the popes to the primacy in the christian church on the authority of Saint Peter: "In scripturis de primatu Petri nulla facta est mentio, et Eusebius in ecclesiastica historia refert Clementem in sexto dispositionum libro asseruisse, Petrum, Johannem, et Jacobum, post assumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipso fuerint omnibus prælati, non sibi tamen eos primatûs gloriam vindicasse, sed Jacobum qui justus appellatur, apostolorum episcopum esse statutum."

house of commons for discharging the subject from all dependence on the see of Rome*, and it appears to have passed both houses with little opposition. Some provisions were added by the lords, to which the commons afterwards agreed, and the bill finally received the royal assent. The bill commenced with a heavy complaint of the intolerable exactions of Peter-pence, provisions, and bulls which were founded on no law, but only on an authority usurped by the popes of granting dispensations. But since the king had been already acknowledged the supreme head of the church of England, by the prelates and clergy in their convocations, therefore it was enacted, that all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all papal provisions, bulls, and dispensations, should thenceforth cease. In future, all dispensations, or licences, for things not contrary to the law of God, or to the law of the land, were to be granted within the realm by the two archbishops within their respective provinces, but they might not presume to grant any dispensation contrary to the law of God, and only in cases when they were accustomed to grant it. They were not empowered to grant a dispensation for any new matter until the king and his council had examined whether such matter were dispensable or not, and all dispensations of a certain value† were to be confirmed under the great seal.

Another statute of great importance to the church was passed at this time, founded on the submission of the clergy‡; not on a recent sub-

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* Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. † Above 4*l*.

‡ Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

CHAP. mission, but on that offered and accepted two
 IV. years before, when the whole body of the clergy had incurred the penalties of a breach of "the statute of præmunire*." The submission, as it was recited in the act, consisted of two parts, a promise and a petition. In the first part, the clergy having acknowledged that all convocations had been, and ought to be, assembled by the king's writ, gave a promise, *in verbo sacerdotii*, not to promulge or put in ure any new canons, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial or synodal, without the royal assent and authority. The second part consisted of a petition, stating, that whereas many religious canons and constitutions then in force were found to be onerous both to the king and his subjects, therefore they prayed that the whole body of the canon law might be revised. They proposed that its examination might be submitted to thirty-two persons "of the king's subjects," of whom the half was to be chosen from the temporality of the upper and lower house of parliament, and the other half was to consist of the clergy of the realm. This committee, chosen from the parliament and convocation, it was prayed might be empowered with the royal assent to determine what part of the canon law ought to be abrogated, and what part should continue in force.

This promise and petition was recited, and then followed an enactment in correspondence with them. But as "the shortness of time" was assigned as a reason why the examination could not

* Atterbury on Convocations, p. 82.

take place in that session, the time of beginning the undertaking, as well as the appointment of the persons who were to perform it, was left to the king's pleasure.

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The statute also contained two provisions, the first of which was nothing more than a corollary from the promise of the clergy, but the second provision was new. It declared that such canons and constitutions as were not contrary or repugnant to "the laws, statutes, and customs of the realm," nor prejudicial to the royal prerogative, should still be used and executed, until the thirty-two commissioners had completed their labours.

This provision is the foundation, unsound as it is, on which the authority of the canon law in England now stands*. It is, doubtless, an absurdity that, when the yoke of Rome was thrown off, the English church should be governed by the pontifical law, or rather that the pontifical law should still form the basis of its ecclesiastical jurisprudence†. The determination of what canons were contrary to the laws and customs of the realm, and what were consonant to them, was a branch of the prerogative which the most despotic of all the imperious monarchs of the house of Tudor was unwilling to concede. A complete body of English ecclesiastical law on protestant principles, sanctioned by the king, the parliament, and the convocation, after many abortive attempts,

* Blackstone's Comment. vol. i. Introduc. s. 3. The matter appears to be rightly stated by Blackstone, notwithstanding the objections of his latest annotator, Coleridge, v. note.

† Bishop Warburton's Letters.

CHAP. was laid aside, till the British constitution was so
 IV. improved that its want was no longer experienced.

A third statute passed in this session, relative to the ecclesiastical state, regulated the election and consecration of bishops*. They were no longer to be presented to the see of Rome, nor to sue for bulls there; but all bishops were to be presented to the archbishop of the province, and all archbishops to any other archbishop within the king's dominions, or to any four bishops appointed by the king. On the vacancy of a see, the king was to grant a licence for a new election, with a letter missive containing the name of the person to be elected; and twelve days after the delivery of the licence, the election was to be made and returned by the dean and chapter of the cathedral, or the prior and convent, under their seals. Then the bishop elect was to swear fealty to the king, and a commission was to issue for his consecration and investiture. Finally, he was to do homage to the king, and then the temporalities of the see were to be restored to him. Offenders against this statute were subjected to the penalties of the statute of "præmunire."

The last act of importance†, though not of an ecclesiastical nature, which demands notice, was that for confirming the succession to the crown to the issue of the king by queen Anne‡. It began

* Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

† There was a private act passed in this session for depriving the cardinals Campeggio and Jerome de Ghinuccii of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester.

‡ Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

by stating that distractions had arisen in England concerning the succession, and that these distractions had occasioned a large effusion of blood. To prevent the recurrence of such a calamity, the king's former marriage with the princess Catherine had been adjudged void, and the sentence of divorce pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury was confirmed. The lady Catherine was thenceforth to be reputed only princess dowager and not queen, and the marriage of the king with his present queen Anne was recognized. All the issue of the present king and queen were legalized; the crown was to descend to the king's issue male by his present, or by any future wife; in default of male issue to the issue female, and in default of both to the rightful heirs of the king. Any person who should maliciously divulge any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, or of the issue begotten by it, was adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and was to suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure, with forfeiture of goods.

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Something more than negative resistance to its enactments was required by this statute, for an oath was prescribed that the king's subjects would defend and maintain the succession as established by law. When the session of parliament was ended, commissioners were sent into the different districts to receive the oath, as it was enjoined to be taken universally. The form in which it was taken is not known, and was, perhaps, varied; but two of the subscriptions made by religious houses have been preserved*. In these instruments, not only

March 29.

* One by the prior and convent of Langley Regis, and other orders; the other by the prioress and convent of nuns at Dept-

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the lawfulness of the king's marriage was asserted, but the king was acknowledged supreme head of the church of England, and the papal authority was disclaimed.

The parliament which effected so great a change in the ecclesiastical polity of the realm was seconded by the convocation. It was debated there as a theological question, "Whether the bishop of Rome had any greater authority given to him by God, within the realm of England, than any other bishop?" It does not appear that the question was debated in the upper house, since the prelates had already given their votes on it in the house of lords. In the lower house, where the attendance was small, thirty-two decided in the negative, four in the affirmative, and one was doubtful. The convocation of York entered into an examination of the question, and came to an unanimous decision that the pope had no authority in England*.

The same question was submitted to the university of Oxford, by the command of the king, signified by the bishop of Lincoln its chancellor. The answer of the university was addressed to all faithful sons of the church in the name of the chancellor, doctors, regents, and non-regents. Its purport was, that whereas the king had received the complaints and petitions of his parliament against some foreign exactions, and controversies had arisen concerning the power and authority of the bishop of Rome; the king, that he might satisfy

ford.—Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. ii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 50.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 26.

his people, and yet not enact any thing contrary to the scriptures, which he would be ready always to defend with his blood, had sent the question to be resolved by the university. Upon this requisition, to show their duty and obedience to their sovereign, they had assembled the whole faculty of divinity, which for many days had been employed in searching the scriptures, and the most approved commentators, in diligently collating them, and in holding public disputations on the matter. After a discussion of five weeks, it was unanimously determined that the bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction given to him by God in the holy scriptures over the kingdom of England than any other bishop*.

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There were many other declarations and subscriptions of a similar nature, made in consequence of these deliberations in the convocation, and in the university. They were given by the monastic bodies as well as the secular, and in them the laws, decrees, and bulls of the bishop of Rome were renounced for ever, and the king was acknowledged the supreme head of the English church†.

Although the separation of England from the see of Rome had been effected in the preceding session of parliament, yet it still remained to annex by law the ecclesiastical supremacy to the crown. This was accordingly done when the parliament reassembled. A statute was enacted to confirm what the clergy had already acknowledged, that the king should be accounted as the only supreme

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 27.

† Many of these instruments are in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

CHAP. head of the church of England, called *ANGLICANA*
 IV. *ECCLESIA*, and should have full authority thereto
 annexed, to reform and correct all errors, heresies,
 and abuses, which might heretofore be amended by
 any spiritual jurisdiction whatsoever*.

1535. When the king had been invested with the entire
 sovereignty over the church, it seemed but a natural
 consequence that he should be endowed with those
 revenues which were paid from all ecclesiastics in
 England to the pope. The clergy had readily
 agreed to the bill for the abolition of annates and
 first-fruits, when claimed by the see of Rome ; but
 their concurrence might not have been so prompt,
 if they had imagined that the impost was not to
 be removed but only transferred. A statute was
 passed to vest the tenths and first-fruits in the
 crown†, and that they might be paid with more
 fairness and equality, commissioners were appointed
 to make a new valuation of all ecclesiastical bene-
 fices‡.

The oath to maintain the succession, framed in
 the former session, was now confirmed‡; for though
 the members of both houses had sworn to obey the
 provisions of the act, and though an oath had been
 taken generally to that effect, yet no particular
 form was enjoined. This omission was now sup-
 plied, and all persons were obliged to take the pre-
 scribed oath, when tendered to them, under the
 penalties of the former statute.

The remaining statutes in this and the succeed-
 ing session, against the papal jurisdiction, were in

* Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

† Ib. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

‡ Ib. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

aid of those already enacted, rather than introductory of any new matter. Yet one of these must not be omitted, since it effected a material alteration in the canon law, but effected the change indirectly and almost silently. The canon law was not at once abolished, but the faculty of canonists was abrogated. The commission of thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions, which the statute of the preceding session had enacted to be appointed by the king, was in this session confirmed *. Soon afterwards the king issued a mandate to the university of Cambridge, prohibiting the reading of lectures, and the granting of degrees in canon law; and it is probable that the university of Oxford received, at the same time, a similar prohibition †.

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The detail already given of the different statutes against the papacy may be tedious, but is indispensable. Henry was now not only in name but in reality the supreme head of the English church. The title was to be for ever joined to the other titles of royalty, and the church was an inseparable appendage to the crown. The title of the archbishop of Canterbury, which had hitherto been that of legate of the apostolic see, was by a decree of convocation changed into that of metropolitan and primate ‡.

The two archbishops and the bishops submitted to take out a royal commission for the exercise of their episcopal jurisdiction ||; and the king, in virtue of his new character, declared his intention

* Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

† Tomlins's Law Dictionary. Art. Canon Law.

‡ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. iii. p. 1.

|| Wharton's corrections to Strype's Life of Cranmer.

CHAP. of making an ecclesiastical visitation throughout the
 IV. kingdom. A vicegerent was appointed in all ecclesiastical affairs, who in right of his office enjoyed a precedency of rank immediately above the archbishop of Canterbury, and a priority in power many degrees above him. An office was instituted for the transaction of all ecclesiastical affairs under the control of this newly created functionary, and a seal was appointed for the confirmation of his acts, and for the authentication of all documents proceeding from his authority.

In all these proceedings the bishops and the secular clergy, when they could not give a cordial assent, testified acquiescence. Tonsal appears to have entertained some scruples concerning the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy; but Gardiner, from his hatred of Cranmer, was willing to exalt the regal authority so as to supersede the archiepiscopal: he complained that the archbishop's title of primate of all England derogated from the kingly power*.

Of the few who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and to take the oath of succession, the greater number belonged to the monastic orders. The reputation of these orders was now rapidly declining, and they had lately experienced the attack of a popular writer, in a treatise entitled "The Supplication of the Beggars†."

Yet there are two remarkable exceptions to the fact that recusancy was confined to monastics; ex-

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. iii. p. 1.

† By Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn. The king had the book put into his hands by Anne Boleyn, and was much pleased with it. Burnet and Strype.

ceptions which it would be uncandid, not only to pass over in silence, but to pass over with careless or designed precipitancy. These two instances of conscientious opposition to the will of the prince, and the law of the realm, and of constancy in suffering for the sake of conscience, are found in Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More. To expatiate on the character of such men is not a digression from the path, but a relaxation in the course of historical narrative. It is to proceed with a slackened pace when the surrounding objects afford room for interesting contemplation.

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had been distinguished in the reign of Henry the Seventh. During many years he was chaplain and confessor to Margaret, countess of Richmond, the mother of that prince; and was instrumental in calling forth and applying the munificence of his patroness, in the foundation of Saint John's and Christ's colleges, in the university of Cambridge, and of theological professorships both at Cambridge and Oxford. Cambridge endeavoured to repay her obligations by electing him her chancellor, and the bishopric of Rochester was conferred on him by the reigning sovereign. Following the rule of the primitive church, he refused to exchange his see for a richer, saying, what many prelates have before and since said, "That his church was his wife, and that he never would be separated from her because she was poor." He continued to enjoy the favour of Henry the Eighth until the question of the divorce was agitated, when he stood forward in favour of Catherine, supporting her by his countenance, and

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Hen. VIII.

CHAP. aiding her by his counsel, and defending her marriage in a controversial treatise*.
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Such inflexible resolution, exerted in such a cause, necessarily occasioned an alienation from Fisher in the mind of Henry: yet the royal aversion would perhaps have been his only misfortune, if an adherence to the cause of Catherine had been his only offence. But he was implicated in other crimes against the state, for which he had little to plead in extenuation. His piety was ardent, but debased by superstition, which his learning, though respectable for the age in which he lived, tended to cherish rather than to counteract. Under its influence he had given credence and consequent reputation to the frenzied Elizabeth Barton, better known by the name of the maid of Kent. The ravings of this woman, like those of many other religious impostors, were calculated to excite political disaffection, and her prophetic imprecations were levelled against the king and his government. She predicted that if the king persisted in his divorce, he would not continue on his throne another month, nor continue in the favour of God another hour, and that his end would be infamous and violent. An act of attainder was therefore passed against Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices, of whom Fisher was one; and the little that could be urged in his defence was insufficient to prevent him from

* John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, led the front, whom some catholics call John the Baptist, because he was beheaded, though on a contrary account. John the Baptist, for saying it is not lawful; John Fisher, for saying it is lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife. Fuller's Church History, b. v.

being adjudged guilty of misprision of treason. Imprisonment was the punishment awarded by the law for this offence, and imprisonment he might have avoided by timely submission ; but his pertinacious refusal to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and to take the oath prescribed by the act of succession, completed his ruin. He suffered a rigorous confinement during more than a year, and although nearly eighty years of age, was kept without proper clothes, and denied the use of fire. One of the last acts of Clement the Seventh, before death closed his disastrous pontificate, was to raise the disgraced and imprisoned bishop of Rochester to the dignity of a cardinal ; and this injudicious mark of respect, from an authority which the law had proscribed, heightened the indignation of Henry, and hastened the end of Fisher.

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It was too notorious that the aged prelate had spoken against the king's supremacy, and for this offence he was brought to a trial. A special commission was appointed, consisting of the lord chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and some other peers, in conjunction with the judges. By this court he was found guilty, and sentenced to die as a traitor, but by a warrant from the king his sentence was mitigated to beheading only. His death was marked by that pious fortitude which had uniformly guided his conduct, however erroneous might have been his judgment. On the morning of his execution he dressed himself with unusual care, saying, " That he was preparing to be a bridegroom." As he was conducted to the place of execution, being impeded by the pressure of

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the crowd, with his New Testament in his hand, he prayed to this effect: that as the sacred volume had been the companion and the solace of his imprisonment, he might open on some passage which might strengthen him in his last conflict. Having thus prayed, he opened the book—let not the Christian say, fortuitously—and his eyes rested on the following passage of Saint John: “This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.” He again closed the book with joy, and the consolatory declaration was the subject of his meditations, until his mortal existence was terminated by the hand of the executioner.

To have taken the life of Fisher at the age of fourscore was a sacrifice cruel indeed, but not costly: equal in cruelty was the execution of sir Thomas More, more than equal in its injustice, and infinitely surpassing was the value of the victim towards whom this cruelty and injustice were shown. Since the time that he had resigned the chancellorship, he had retired into private life with scarcely a decent competence, and had carefully separated himself from all political transactions. But to a man like More, retirement, in a time when political dissensions and religious controversies were rife, was no security. Of all the opponents of the king’s divorce he was the most formidable; for, while the arguments of Cajetan and Victoria were answered or despised, the emphatic silence of More sunk deep on the mind of Henry. His tenacity of opinion, on this point, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the family

of Anne Boleyn, whose inquisitive vigilance was directed to the transactions of his domestic privacies, and the conversation of his social hours.

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The first attempt against his life was by involving him in the bill of attainder against the maid of Kent and her accomplices. But here he triumphantly defeated his enemies, and the storm which fell with fatal severity on Fisher passed harmlessly over More. He petitioned that he might be allowed to plead personally in his defence against this bill; but the king, fearful of the impression which his eloquence might make in an open court of justice, referred him to the private examination of his council. The lord chancellor Audley conducted himself with bitterness towards his illustrious predecessor; but after a full, and certainly not a friendly, investigation, More was absolved from the crime of participating in the schemes of the maid of Kent, and by the earnest recommendation of Audley himself was left out of the bill.

Foiled in this attempt, his enemies next selected the statute of supremacy and succession as the weapon best fitted to effect his destruction. He was reported to have said that the statute was like a sword with two edges; since, if a man answered one way, it would confound his soul, and if he answered another way, it would confound his body; and it was resolved that he should be tried to which of these perils he chose to submit. Though the members of both houses voluntarily took the oath of succession before the session closed in which the statute passed, yet few others of the laity were required to take it. Sir Thomas More, however,

CHAP. was summoned to appear at Lambeth, before the
IV. lords of the council, that the oath might be administered to him.

Having cheerfully obeyed the summons, the lords of the council, by their demeanour towards him, appeared rather to debate the question with an old colleague, in amicable and equal conference, than to impose the oath on a stubborn recusant by mere authority. Cranmer had uniformly shown towards More that tenderness and consideration which a great man always feels for a disarmed antagonist. On this occasion, the primate, with that persuasive application for which he was so remarkable, laboured to bring the ex-chancellor to a compliance with the parliamentary requisition. It was, as More himself acknowledged, a powerful appeal, and which, when urged with such force, he could not, at the moment, withstand.

More had repeatedly declared, at this conference, that he imputed no blame to any one who took the oath, and had also expressed his own readiness to take it with some alterations. His objection was particularly directed to the preamble of the oath; and Cranmer once more generously interposed, to obtain an indulgence for those scruples which he had vainly endeavoured to overcome. A humane and temperate letter was addressed by the archbishop to the secretary Cromwell, soliciting that both More and Fisher might be sworn to the act of succession without the preamble*. But this wise suggestion was rejected; and More, after remaining a few days in the custody of the abbot of

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. i. c. 6.

Westminster, was, like Fisher, committed a prisoner to the Tower.

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In this confinement, but in the possession of many indulgences to soften its rigour, he continued more than a year; but when the statute of the succeeding session was enacted, his treatment was severe. In this statute the king was recognised as the supreme head of the church, and the punishment of death was denounced against all who denied his supremacy. It was not likely that More, in a state of imprisonment, should commit any overt act in disobedience to the statute*, and there was a great difficulty in rendering him liable to its penalties. Artifices were therefore used to elicit from him some opinion or sentiment by which he might be convicted; and some of the lords of the council visited him in the Tower, in order to draw from him some decisive answer concerning his opinion on the lawfulness of the statute. It was useless that he proposed in general terms his allegiance to the king: he was required to give a categorical answer to these two distinct interrogatories: first, whether he had seen the statute concerning the supremacy? and, secondly, whether or not he believed it to be a lawful statute? Having refused a direct reply to these interrogatories, the lords retired; but he was soon arraigned for high treason, chiefly on the report of certain seditious words spoken by him in the presence of Rich, the solicitor-general.

His trial on this arraignment took place in the court of king's bench, not only before the judges,

* Carte's History of England.

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IV.

July.

but also before other commissioners appointed for that purpose, of whom the lord chancellor was the principal. Though his bodily frame was feeble, his mind had lost nothing of its vigour. Throughout his trial he displayed a solicitude to maintain his integrity and honour, rather than to preserve his life; and if he had been tried by unprejudiced judges, his life would have been as safe as his character. But unavailing were his arguments and his eloquence, in averting a sentence already predetermined. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, and after his sentence, when the commissioners offered to hear any thing in his defence, his reply was such as Christian piety could alone inspire. If it should remind the reader of the concluding part of the apology of Socrates, it must at the same time convince him of the superiority of the Christian over the pagan philosopher. It would have been worthy of Socrates, if Socrates had been enlightened by divine revelation. The concluding words of his address were these: "My lords, more I have not to say, but that, like as the blessed apostle Saint Paul, as we read in the Acts, was present and consented to the death of Saint Stephen, and kept the clothes of them that stoned him, and yet they be both twain compeers and holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends together for ever; so I verily trust, and heartily pray, though your lordships have on earth been my judges to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter meet in heaven, to our everlasting salvation *."

* Life of sir Thomas More. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. ii.

Such was the end of sir Thomas More ; a name which will be ever associated with the revival of learning. His erudition, even when compared with that of his contemporaries, was surpassed ; it was neither varied nor profound ; but he had other and better qualities, in which he has not, in any age, been exceeded. His fervent piety prevented his uncommon cheerfulness from degenerating into levity, and his wit from any alliance with profaneness. His strong attachment to the church of Rome contributed to narrow his intellect, to warp his judgment, and, though it did not diminish his vivacity, to infuse somewhat of causticity into the natural sweetness of his temper. Yet, in the happiest effort of his imaginative faculty, he soared above all superstitious prejudices. Papal tyranny and the Romish religion find no place in his Utopia : on the contrary, his Utopians have Christianity without a priesthood.

What this distinguished character might have been in an age of more general knowledge and of higher refinement, is an unprofitable speculation. As he now stands exhibited to the notice of posterity, he has been selected by the English Romanists as the bulwark of their cause. Such a choice is not discreditable to their judgment, and it is honourable to their feelings, that their favourite champion is SIR THOMAS MORE.

A. D.
1535.

Hen. VIII.
July 6.

CHAPTER V.

Division of the ecclesiastical State into secular and monastic.—The monastic Orders, military and religious.—Religious Orders subdivided into Monks, Canons, and Friars.—Of the Importance of the monastic Orders in England.—Dissolution of the smaller Monasteries, and consequent Rebellion.—The greater Abbeys surrendered, and the Surrender confirmed by Law.—Chantry and free Chapels given to the King.—Application of the monastic Property.—New Bishoprics erected.—Cathedral Chapters founded.—General Reflections on the Policy and Justice of the Measure.

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V.

BEFORE the reformation, the ecclesiastical state of England, like the rest of the western church, was divided into the seculars and monastics, or, as the latter were usually styled, the regulars. This was more than a nominal division, for it had the practical effects of a religious schism. The monastic orders were called, not unaptly, the standing army of the popedom: they defended its usurpations on the temporal and spiritual liberties of Christendom: in return, they obtained an exemption by papal bulls and dispensations, both from civil authority and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The secular clergy, on the other hand, stigmatized the regulars as an ambiguous class, as neither clerics nor laics; an acolyth, by the canonists, was ranked above an abbot; and the whole monastic body was studiously marked as standing without the pale of ecclesiastical privilege*.

* Reeve's History of English Law, vol. iv. c. 24.

The same statute which enacted that the king should be the head of the English church, had transferred from the pope to the king the jurisdiction over all monastic institutions. The crown was invested with a power of visiting them by commission, and the election of their superiors, which had formerly been confirmed by the pope, was in future to be confirmed by the king. A. D. _____

When Henry was invested with the supremacy, Cromwell, who filled the place of his chief minister, was appointed his ecclesiastical vicegerent. The ecclesiastical administration of this statesman may be correctly estimated from a measure of which he may claim exclusively the merit or the disgrace; and the epithet by which he was long distinguished was that of Monasticomastix, or the scourge of monasteries.

It is impossible to form a just notion of the change produced by the dissolution of the monastic corporations, without a short account of their origin and establishment in England. This account will be followed by a narrative of their dissolution at the time of the reformation, and the subject will be concluded by some reflections on the policy and justice of this important revolution.

In the classification of the monastic orders, the first grand division is into military and religious. The religious orders had no connexion with the duties and obligations of a military life; but the military orders were founded on religious principles, and were bound by religious ties. In the ecclesiastical history of a country, where religious chivalry once flourished, a short description of its

CHAP. institutions cannot be deemed superfluous or un-
 V. interesting.

Of the three famous military orders, which had their origin during the wars between the Christians and Mohammedans for the recovery of Palestine, that of the Teutonic knights was confined to Germany, but the other two orders, of Templars and Hospitallers, enrolled among their members the flower of the European nobility.

The knights templars derived their appellation from a palace adjoining the temple at Jerusalem, appropriated to their use ; but, from their habit, of a white mantle with a red cross, they were better known by the title of the red cross knights*. The design of their institution was to defend the common cause of Christianity, to inspect the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims who visited the holy city from the insults and barbarity of the Moslems. The twelfth century is mentioned as the date of their institution, but they did not acquire stability till the thirteenth century, when the order of templars was solemnly confirmed by a council at Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline framed by Saint Bernard. By the valour of its knights the order gradually acquired immense riches, and a military renown greater even than its wealth. In England, no religious community was so highly esteemed as that of the templars : its monarchs deposited much of their treasure in the Temple at London, while the knights

* The founders of the order were Hugues des Payens, Geoffry of St. Aldemar, or St. Omer, and seven other persons, whose names are unknown. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii.

were in possession of that house. Henry the Second, and his queen, Eleanor, desired to be interred there, and it was there that Henry the Third received his education*.

But the martial fame and chivalrous exploits of the templars could not secure the permanence of the order, while its wealth invited envy and rapacity. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the knights were publicly accused as enemies and deriders of Christianity, and the accusation was entertained, though its author was one whose testimony should have been received with caution. The charge was preferred by Philip the Fair, "the monster of his age†." He addressed his complaints to Clement the Fifth, himself an avaricious, turbulent, and vindictive pontiff. But even Clement could see that the charges against the templars were either groundless or exaggerated, and was unwilling to proceed against them, until wearied by the importunities of the French king.

At length all the templars, who were dispersed throughout the different countries of Europe, were seized and imprisoned, without any warning or apprehension of their approaching danger, and the order was extirpated by a decree of the council of Vienne. Some of the knights, while under the actual infliction or the prospective dread of torture, confessed their guilt; but James de Molai, the grand master, with his dying breath asserted that his greatest crime had been that of charging the templars with disbelief of Christianity through fear of the rack. William de la Moore, the English

* Mills's History of the Crusades, vol. ii. c. 7.

† Ibid.

CHAP.
V.

grand prior, was the only man whom no terror could induce to retract his first avowal of the innocence of his order. He was requested to make a general confession; but he replied that he was not guilty of heresy, and would not abjure crimes which he had never committed*.

The wealth of the templars might of itself have been a sufficient motive with Philip the Fair to seek their ruin: but he had a stronger motive in his personal resentment against their grand master, and in his hatred of the whole order. The templars had espoused the cause of Boniface the Eighth, when that pontiff and Philip were engaged in a quarrel: their conduct was remembered by Philip, and repaid by their destruction.

The possessions of the red cross knights were decreed by the council of Vienne to be transferred to a rival order of still greater wealth than the templars, the order of hospitallers. The hospitallers, or the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, were so called from an hospital in that city, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were employed in relieving the sick and indigent pilgrims. When Jerusalem became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so greatly augmented by the liberality of Christian princes, as far to exceed the purposes for which the order was founded. Hence, Raymond de Puy, the superior of this charitable foundation, offered to make war on the Moslems at his own expense, and his offer was seconded by his brethren. The proposal

* Mills's History of the Crusades, vol. ii. c. 7.

was accepted by Baldwin the Second, then king of Jerusalem; and thus a fraternity of ascetic monks was transformed into a band of hardy warriors*.

A. D.

The order of the hospitallers differed from that of the templars in this respect, that it was divided into three classes. The first contained the knights or soldiers of illustrious birth; the second consisted of the priests, who officiated in the churches belonging to the order; and the third comprehended the serving brethren, or soldiers of low condition. The habit of the order was a black mantle with a white cross: on the last of these accounts they were called white knights, and from the circumstance that black was the usual monastic colour, they were sometimes called military friars.

Though, by the decree of the council of Vienne, the possessions of the dissolved templars were given to the knights of Saint John, and though this decree had been in England confirmed by parliament, yet private avarice counteracted the law. The hospitallers were obliged to purchase of the king, and even of individuals, the confiscated estates of the red cross knights. The earls of Lancaster and Pembroke, and the younger Spencer, had successive grants of the Temple in London; but, in consequence of death or attainder, it reverted to the crown. The hospitallers did not gain possession of the house till the reign of Edward the Third: they soon demised it to the common lawyers, and the lawyers held it as tenants to the hospitallers till the dissolution of the order.

When the knights of Saint John were compelled

* Vertot's History of the Knights of Malta.

CHAP. to leave their possessions in Palestine, they soon
 V. acquired an equivalent in Europe, and, dependent only on their grand master, enjoyed the sovereignty first of Rhodes, and afterwards of Malta. Though their estates in England were moderate, yet the knights were of the highest quality. They were under the government of their grand prior, and at the time when the abbots enjoyed the rank and privileges of other prelates, and when monachism as well as episcopacy “exalted its mitred front in courts and parliaments,” the prior of Saint John of Jerusalem was honoured by the title of the first lay baron of England.

Having briefly described the military orders, those which were peculiarly styled religious demand notice; and they will require a more copious explanation, because their specific differences were numerous. The religious orders have been classed under three principal divisions, monks, canons, and friars.

I. The Benedictine order, with its ramifications, is the first both in antiquity and importance. Its founder, Benedict of Nursia, in the dukedom of Spoleto in Italy, instituted it in the middle of the
 529. sixth century; and from his rule of discipline, which is yet extant, it may be concluded that he intended to form an order whose discipline should be milder, but whose manners should be more regular, than those of other monastic bodies. His design was judiciously conceived, for, during many centuries, the Benedictine order maintained an undisputed pre-eminence in the monastic republic.

As to the time when this order was established in England, a controversy has arisen, which may

well be left undetermined. While some writers have fixed the period of its introduction at the time of Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury; others have denied that the Benedictine rule was observed or known till after the conquest. Bede, in his history, is silent as to the order, though himself a monk; and a writer of later date has attempted to prove that the Benedictines came into England immediately from France*. After all the researches into this subject, the following appears to be the fair conclusion, that the Benedictine rule was the groundwork of the monastic establishments before the conquest; but that it was not completely known and observed till after that event, or till the time of Lanfranc. But that the rule was partially known before the conquest is probable from this single fact, that the most wealthy monasteries were founded under the Saxon kings, and that these monasteries were called Benedictine from their foundation. Not only the richest abbeys, but all the cathedral priories, with the exception of Carlisle, were of the Benedictine order†.

The habit of the Benedictines was entirely black; their gowns, their cowls, and their scapularies were of this colour, and hence they were commonly known by the name of black monks. The rule, as it was observed in England, was strict. Devotional exercises suspended all other occupations, seven times in twenty-four hours‡, and the circle of these

* Broughton's *Monasticum Britannicum*. Its author was a Romish priest, and died 1654. His work was left by him unfinished.

† Preface to *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*.

‡ These exercises were called the nocturnal, matins, the tierce, the sexte, the none, vespers, and the compline.

CHAP.
V.

exercises had a reference to the death and passion of Christ. The prescribed austerities of the Benedictines were numerous ; but they were not allowed to practise any voluntary penance without the permission of their superior. They were not permitted to converse in their refectory at their meals, but were enjoined to listen to some portion of the Scriptures. They all slept in a common dormitory, but were supplied with separate beds scantily furnished. For slight faults they were excluded from meals ; for greater they were deprived of religious communion ; for incorrigible faults they were expelled.

927. The Benedictine order was subdivided into many branches, some of which obtained great notoriety. The Cluniac order wore the Benedictine habit, but varied in their discipline from the Benedictine rule, or rather from its founder ; for Odo, abbot of Clugni, added to the ancient rule of Benedict many severe and burdensome ceremonies*. All the English monasteries of this branch were at first governed by foreigners, and were subjected to a foreign visitation. The priors were not elected by their own body, but by the houses of Clugni, La Charité sur Loire, and Saint Martin-de-champs, in Paris. They could not even receive the profession of their novices in England ; and, on this account, during the wars with France, the revenues of the Cluniac monasteries were seized by our kings as alien houses. This inconvenience was removed, on the petition of a parliament, holden at Winchester, in the reign of Edward the Third. The houses of the Cluniac order were then made denizen, and discharged from

* Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. v.

all subjection to foreign abbeys. Of the Cluniac order there were at the time of the reformation twenty-seven houses*.

A. D.
1084.

A second branch of the Benedictine order were the Carthusians. These followed the rule of Benedict, with many additional austerities, and were esteemed the most rigid of all the monastic orders. They were never permitted to eat flesh, and were required to fast on one day in every week on bread and water. Their clothing was equally mortified with their diet, and next their bodies they wore a hair shirt. Once in a week only they were permitted to walk in their grounds; but none of the fraternity were permitted to go out of their precincts, except the priors and procurators, and those only on urgent business. The founder of the Carthusians was Bruno, a native of Cologne, who instituted the order at Chartreux, a deserted spot near Grenoble†. The Carthusians were brought into England by Henry the Second, and had their first establishment at Witham, in Somersetshire. As to their distinguishing habit, their upper garment, like the Benedictines, was black, but the rest was white. At the reformation there were in England nine houses belonging to the Carthusian order‡.

1084.

The Cistertians may be reckoned as a third branch of Benedictines. Robert, abbot of Molesme, in Burgundy, having fruitlessly laboured to revive the decayed discipline of his convent, retired with about twenty of his fraternity to Cisteaux, a place

* Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

† Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. vii.

‡ Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

CHAP. V. situated in the diocese of Chalons. There he instituted this order, which was also known by the name of Bernardines, from Bernard, a great promoter of the Cistercian discipline. The Cistercians were also called white monks, from their habit, which was a white cassock, with a narrow scapulary, over which they threw a black mantle when they went abroad, but a mantle of white when they went to church. Their monasteries, which were very numerous, were situated chiefly in wild and solitary places, and were all dedicated to the Blessed Virgin*. They were introduced into England by Stephen Harding, third abbot of Cîteaux, were first established at Waverley, in Surrey, and had eighty-five houses before the dissolution†.

1073. There were some other Benedictine branches of less consideration. That of Grammont was instituted by Stephen, a gentleman of Auvergne; but of this branch there were only two houses in England. The order of Tiron were also reformed Benedictines, but they had no establishment in England, and only one in Wales, that of Saint Dogmael, with a dependent cell and priory.

II. In the second general division of the religious orders were comprehended the canons, and these were of two kinds, religious and secular. The secular canons were merely clerics: they were, like other priests, conversant in the world, performed spiritual offices to the laity, and took on themselves the cure of souls. Such duties the regular canons could not perform without a dispensation. The secular canons differed from ordinary priests in nothing

* Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. v.

† Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

except that they lived under the government of some local statutes. They did not always live under the same roof, but had a severalty in their estates. The regular canons lived under the same roof, and had a common dormitory; they were less strict than the monks, but more strict than the secular canons.

A. D.
1121.

The canons, whether secular or regular, acknowledged as the institutor of their rule Augustine, bishop of Hippo, the African oracle in controversy. Their habit was a long black cassoc, with a white rochet thrown over it. They submitted to the tonsure, and wore a cap. There were not less than one hundred and twenty-five houses of this order in England, and their first house was supposed to have been established at Colchester*.

Of the subdivisions of the Augustine canons, the best known were the Præmonstratenses. They lived according to the rule of St. Augustine, restored to its primitive severity by Norbert, afterward archbishop of Magdeburgh. This eminent reformer founded the order at Præmontre, in the diocese of Laon in Picardy. The Præmonstratenses were sometimes distinguished by the name of white canons from their habit, which was a white cassoc, with a rochet thrown over it, a long white cloak, and white cap†. They came into England in the middle of the twelfth century, and settled first at Newhouse in Lincolnshire. The English of this order were originally under the jurisdiction of

* Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

† Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. ii.

CHAP.
V.

the abbot of Præmontre, and had a conservator of their privileges in England. Their foreign superior asserted a right of visitation, and of exacting from them large contributions, till a bull was obtained from pope Julius the Second, exempting them from foreign jurisdiction, and placing them under the government of the abbot of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire. There were at the time of the dissolution about thirty-five houses of this order*.

III. The third and largest division of the religious orders comprehended the friars, all of whom gloried in the title of mendicants. Besides a few obscure fraternities, of which the crutched, or crossed, friars were the most remarkable, the orders of friars were four, sometimes called the elemental orders†.

1. The founder of the Dominicans was by birth a Spaniard, and the village of Calaroga was the place of his nativity. His descent was noble, and his profession that of an ecclesiastic. Exasperated by the religious controversies which distracted his own country, Dominic, with a few companions, set out for France to combat the heretics and sectarians which had multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprise he executed with vigour or rather with fury, combating the Albigenses, and other enemies of the church, with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, the subtlety of disputation, and the terrors of the inquisition‡. From France he passed into Italy, where he was distinguished by

* Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

† Fuller's *Church History*, b. 6.

‡ Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii. c. 13.

the favour of two successive popes*, and obtained from them the privilege of erecting a new fraternity, whose principal design was the extirpation of heresy. He first adopted for his new society the rule of Saint Augustine, but soon exchanged the canonical discipline for the monastic. Voluntary poverty he enjoined on all his disciples, and on his deathbed denounced a heavy curse on all who might hereafter attempt to corrupt his order by an estate†. His followers were called Dominicans, from their founder, preaching friars from their office, and black friars from their habit. In France they obtained a name which, at this day, carries with it a different association of ideas: from their residence at Paris, in a street dedicated to Saint James‡, they acquired the appellation of Jacobins. They were established in England in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and had their first monastery at Oxford; but they were soon transplanted to London, and were presented by the mayor and aldermen with two streets by the side of the river Thames. At the time of the dissolution they possessed about forty-three houses§.

A. D.

1221.

The Dominicans having a licence from the court of Rome to preach wherever they pleased, and a general power of hearing confessions and granting absolution, made large encroachments on the rights and duties of the parochial clergy. Being itinerant,

* Innocent III. and Honorius III.

† Du Pin. Eccles. Hist. Cent. 13.

‡ Still called *Le Rue de St. Jacques*.

§ Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

CHAP.
V.

they were generally strangers to the penitents whom they thought fit to absolve, and the people transgressed with less restraint, in the hope of obtaining absolution from some travelling Dominican.

2. Francis, the founder of the second and rival order, was by birth an Italian, and the son of a merchant. He was contemporary with Dominic, and like him gained the favour of Innocent and Honorius the Third; like him, he inculcated absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel, and the soul of religion. But in every other respect, the tenets of the Dominicans and Franciscans were opposite, and they embraced the two extremes of fatalism and free will. Besides the general name which the Franciscans obtained from their founder, they were called minor friars from their show of excessive humility, and gray friars from their habit. They came into England in the reign of Henry the Third, and settled first at Canterbury, and afterwards at London.

Some relaxation having taken place in the Franciscan rule, a division in the order ensued. Its founder had made absolute poverty an indispensable obligation, but an interpretation of the rule, sanctioned by Gregory the Ninth, mitigated its excessive severity. Innocent the Fourth confirmed the mitigated interpretation, and excited the indignation of those members who called themselves spiritual. In the schism which followed, such as continued under the relaxation were called conventuals or observants, and such as adhered to the ancient rule were called recolects. At the time of the dissolution, the conventual Franciscans

had about fifty-five houses in England, under seven custodies or wardenships : the recollects had only two or three houses in this country*.

A. D.
1205.

3. The third of the mendicant orders were the Carmelites, or the order of our lady of mount Carmel. Berthold, by birth a Calabrian, set out with some followers for mount Carmel, and on the spot where the prophet Elias is said to have been translated to heaven built a cottage with a chapel, where he led a life of solitude and labour. This little colony was constantly replenished, as the original members died, until, at length, it was erected into a monastic community by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. By this austere prelate a rule of discipline was framed, but it was afterwards modified and mitigated by the popes. The order having been transplanted into Europe, obtained its rank among the mendicants. According to their own account, the Carmelites derive their origin from the prophet Elias, and they reject with indignation Berthold as their founder. Among other marks of their antiquity, they refer to the tonsure, and allege that this distinction had always exposed them to the scoffs of the vulgar. Their founder was reviled in the same manner by the opprobrious epithet of bald head, as he was on his journey to mount Carmel†.

The Carmelites were not only denominated from the place where they were first established, but were commonly known by the name of white friars from their habit. At the time of the suppression

* Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

† Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. ii.

CHAP. of the religious orders in England they could
 V. boast of not less than forty-five houses*.

4. The Augustinians, or friars Eremites of the order of Saint Augustine, occupied the fourth place among the mendicants. They had for their founder pope Alexander the Fourth. This pontiff having observed that the Eremites were divided into several societies, and that each followed a different rule, formed the project of uniting them in one religious order, and subjecting them to the rule of Saint Augustine. The Augustine friars were famed for their skill in disputation, and a scholastic exercise at Oxford, called Augustinian, long preserved the memory of their syllogistic prowess†. Their first settlement in England was in the thirteenth century, and they possessed about thirty-two houses at the time of the reformation‡.

As these four mendicant orders were allowed the liberty of travelling wherever they thought fit, of preaching to the multitude, and of instructing youth, they were regarded with blind veneration by the ignorant §. This enthusiastic attachment

* Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

† Fuller's *Church History*, b. vi. Augustine disputations was an exercise for a master's degree.

‡ Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

§ They were also satirized, of which the following lines are a specimen:

“ Per decies binos Sathanas capiat Jacobinas ;
 Propter et errores, Jesu ! confunde Minores ;
 Augustinenses, pater inclyte, sterne per enses ;
 Et Carmelitas tanquam falsos Eremitas ;
 Sunt confessores dominorum seu dominarum,
 Et seductores ipsarum sunt animarum.”

was carried to such a degree that several cities were cantoned into four parts, in reference to the four orders; the first part was assigned to the Dominicans, the second to the Franciscans, the third to the Carmelites, and the fourth to the Augustinians*.

A. D.
1256.

With respect to the female devotees of monachism, it is sufficient to remark, generally, that there were nuns of most of the religious orders, and comprehended under the same divisions. Three societies in England, however, merit a distinct notice. 1. The nuns of the order of Fontevrault, of which the abbess of Fontevrault was superior: they had their first establishment at Nuneaton in Warwickshire, and only two other houses. 2. The nuns of the order of Saint Clare, or, as they were denominated from their scanty endowments, the poor Clares. Saint Clare was born in the same town, and was contemporary with Saint Francis; and the nuns of Saint Clare, observing the Franciscan rule, were sometimes called Minoresses, and their house, without Aldgate in London, was called the Minories. Blanche, queen of Navarre, first introduced them into England. 3. Brigittines, or nuns of our holy Saviour, instituted by Bridget, duchess of Nercia, in Sweden, about the middle of the fourteenth century. They followed the rule of Saint Augustine, with some

Wiclif constantly inveighed against the friars, under the name of CAIM. This word is an acrostic of the four orders, viz., C, Carmelites; A, Augustinians; I, Jacobins, or Dominicans; and M, Minorites, or Franciscans. Fuller's Church History, b. vi.

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. cent. 13, 8vo. edit.

CHAP.
V.

additions. There was but one house in England belonging to the Brigittine nuns, the celebrated establishment at Sion house in Middlesex*.

To fix the precise number of the religious orders is impossible, because historians disagree on this point, confounding specific with generic distinctions†. But a just idea may be formed of their political importance by taking a cursory survey of their different establishments in the metropolis at the time of the reformation. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, London might be called

THE CITY OF MONASTERIES.

Pre-eminent in majesty, and venerable in age, rose the Benedictine abbey of Westminster. Its chartered privileges, originally granted by the pious munificence of Saxon kings, were transmitted through all the vicissitudes of conquest and usurpation, of foreign invasion and domestic feud. Its cloisters approached the perihelion of the court; and the regal hall, whether appropriated to the purposes of council, of justice, or of festivity, only shared in the inviolability of the adjacent monastic sanctuary. Its abbots, in the exercise of their municipal jurisdiction, possessed an authority which acquired a sanctity from their religious character, and an importance from their proximity to the seat of government. In wealth and in power they vied, not only with the prelates, but with the nobles of the land; and when the offices of the state were chiefly filled by ecclesiastics, the abbacy of Westminster conducted its possessor to the acme of

* Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

† Fuller's *Church History*, b. vi.

political elevation. The territorial lordship of the A. D. _____
abbey extended far towards the confines of the
city* ; and over several religious houses in the
western suburb, the abbots of Westminster claimed
a right of patronage or visitation.

While the Carthusians practised their austere discipline in the congenial seclusion of Smithfield, the other monastic orders were stationed among " the busy haunts of men," dispersed among the stately palaces of the nobles, or the crowded dwellings of the citizens.

At the south-western frontier of the city, and, as it were, a barrier to its approach, was placed the once celebrated house of the templars, which, though despoiled of its ancient glories, still retained the vestiges of its chivalrous destination. The church, with its characteristic appendages, yet stood, as if to put calumny to the blush, as a monument of the christian profession of the templars, and a vindication of their injured fame. The hospitallers succeeding the templars in the possession of their house, with a graceful and generous reserve, had forborne to occupy the conspicuous station of their illustrious rivals, and still remained at their more retired, but not less magnificent, residence at Clerkenwell.

Under the wing of the templars, the Carmelites, or white friars, once enjoyed their comparatively obscure abode, but its obscurity was no protection. Its vicinity to the royal palace of Bridewell tempted the cupidity of the English monarchs, and it had been appropriated as a demesne of the crown. On

* Covent Garden belonged to the abbots of Westminster.

CHAP.
V.

the other side of Bridewell, and under the walls of the city, the Dominicans, or black friars, possessed their spacious domain, the donation of civic munificence. Within its precincts, a parliament once sat, and in the parliament chamber Campeggio and Wolsey held their legatine court.

Within the walls of the city the monastic establishments, if less splendid, were more numerous. The cathedral church of Saint Paul, under its bishop and chapter of secular canons, was, indeed, of a magnitude equal to many of the suburban establishments. But there was scarcely a street or a portal uninhabited by some monastic order. While the Dominicans, as if reminiscent of the noble birth of their founder, were seated close to a royal mansion, the Franciscans, in accordance with the mercantile extraction of the rival of Dominic, were placed near a principal entrance of the city. The Augustinian friars, no longer Eremites except in name, were mingled with the dense population of Broad-street; while, as if to show that the fortress of London was intended only for "the pomp and circumstance" of military defence, the Crutched friars dwelt in peaceful security on Tower-hill.

The magnitude and the influential character of the monastic institutions throughout England corresponded with their importance in the metropolis. So extensive were their territorial possessions, that twenty-eight abbots were styled mitred*, and, like the bishops, held their lands

* The number of the mitred abbeyes is reckoned twenty-seven by Fuller, twenty-eight by lord Herbert, and twenty-nine by sir Edward Coke. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 2.

by a baronial tenure under the king, and, like them also, sat in the upper house of parliament and convocation. They were joined with the other spiritual lords; and as they outnumbered the bishops, so when united with them, the spirituality fully balanced the temporal nobility.

Besides the mitred abbeys, there were four nunneries, Shaftesbury, Barking, Saint Mary's, at Winchester, and Wilton, held of the crown as baronies. Though their respective superiors were exempted from an attendance in parliament on account of their sex, yet they were obliged to send their proportion of soldiers into the field according to the value of their knights' fees*.

Interwoven as the monastic state thus was with the religion and government of the country, as well as with the ties and regulations of social life, its excision required an adventurous spirit and a skilful hand. The design, however, was, perhaps, originally projected by Henry himself, and it was carried into execution by Cromwell.

In the two great questions of the king's divorce and his ecclesiastical supremacy, the secular clergy, with a few exceptions, had shown no active opposition; but the case was different with the monastic orders. They were hostile alike to the divorce, to the overthrow of the papal jurisdiction, and to any reformation in doctrine. This unyielding spirit was not so apparent in the parliamentary abbots, for their dependence on the court induced them to comply with its wishes. When sir Thomas More scrupled to take the oath of succession, the

* A barony consisted of thirteen knights' fees.

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V.

abbot of Westminster endeavoured to satisfy his doubts. The courtly Benedictine said, that however the matter might appear to sir Thomas More, yet since the great council of the nation thought otherwise, he ought to conform to their opinion*.

But the mendicant orders, solely dependent on a foreign head, and connecting the king's measures with a reformation in religion, were undisguised in their hostility. Such was the violent resistance of the Franciscans to the divorce, that a friar of that order, in a sermon delivered in the chapel of Greenwich, compared Henry to Ahab, and prophesied that the dogs should lick his blood. On the question of the supremacy, the Franciscans were equally resolute. When the proposition was tendered to them that the pope has no greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other bishop, they rejected it with indignation. When they were desired to submit the question to a part of their body, and to abide by the decision, they replied, that it concerned the conscience of each individual, which ought not to submit to the conscience of another. They cited a chapter of their rule, that their order should have a cardinal for their protector, by whose direction they were to be governed in their obedience to the holy see. They concluded by declaring, that they had sworn to follow the rule of Saint Francis, and in that rule they would live or die†.

It was probably from the disaffection of the men-

* Life of Sir Thomas More, in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3.

dicant orders to the king, as well as from their influence with the vulgar, that a resolution was adopted of beginning the dissolution of the monasteries with their suppression. The friars were more dangerous to the civil power than the monks, since they mixed with the world, and possessed all the arts of popular address and insinuation. A. D.
1535.
Hen. VIII.

At the conclusion of the same year, in which October. the ecclesiastical vicegerency was conferred on Cromwell, a general visitation of the monasteries took place. The abuses in the religious houses was a matter of notoriety, and of general complaint, and their correction was thought to be an indispensable duty. The work was intrusted to commissioners appointed by the king's sign manual, and the appointment was confirmed under the great seal. Of these commissioners, the principal were Leighton and Lee two civilians, and London dean of Wallingford. Leighton had been brought up in the service of Wolsey, together with Cromwell, and he is thought to have been the original mover of the design.

In addition to their legal authority, the commissioners were furnished with instructions to direct their inquiries: they were also supplied with injunctions in the king's name, which they were commanded to leave at every religious house. The instructions were in the form of articles, eighty-six in number, and related chiefly to religious discipline: the injunctions required, that the governors of every religious house should see that the act of succession was observed; that they should inculcate the king's supremacy, and that the pope's power in

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England was an usurpation. Every priest in the house was obliged to say mass daily, and to pray for the king and queen. One or two of every religious house were to be maintained at the university, that when they were well instructed they might return and teach others. The abbot or superior was daily to explain some part of the rule of the order, and to apply it according to Christ's law, to show that their ceremonies were but introductory to true Christianity, and that religion did not consist in habits or rites, but in purity of heart and life*.

Whatever might be thought of the necessity of a visitation, and of the propriety of these injunctions, yet the manner in which the commissioners prosecuted their inquiries has incurred a severe but merited censure. Their office was in itself sufficiently invidious, but they instituted their examination only for the sake of detecting abuses, and they detected abuses, not for the sake of correction, but of punishment. The visitation of the monasteries was not to amend their morals, but to confiscate their property.

From the letters of the commissioners to Cromwell it appeared that the religious houses were filled with profaneness and crime. Many fell on their knees before the visitors, and prayed to be discharged from vows which they had been compelled to make, but were unwilling to keep. In not a few houses there were factions which led to extreme violence and cruelty, while the profligacy

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, p. ii. b. 2.

practised within their walls, though too notorious to be concealed, was too gross to admit of a recital. A. D.
1536.
Hen. VIII.

The report of the visitors was first laid before the king, and then before the parliament, and the morals of the small abbeys and priories were represented to be so depraved, that a bill for their dissolution was passed without opposition *. The act stated, as an indisputable truth, that the small religious houses had been guilty of abominable vices, and that they had shamefully wasted their property. It was therefore expedient that their members, since they had resisted all efforts to reform them, should be removed to some great monasteries, where, in the language of the statute, "religion was well kept." It was enacted that all houses which could not afford an annual expenditure of two hundred pounds should be suppressed, their revenues converted to better uses, and themselves compelled to reform their lives.

The reason assigned for the dissolution of the small monasteries was not their wealth, but their poverty. It was not supposed that the wealthy corporations would misapply their riches, but that the poor would resort to undue means to become rich †. Thus the storm fell chiefly on the mendicant friars, whose establishments consisted

* St. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

† Two principles were laid down in the preamble of the statute; first, that the smaller convents were the greatest sinners, and they who had the least lands led the lowdest lives; secondly, it was harder to reform little convents than those that were greater. Fuller's Church History, b. 6.

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of few members, and, as they were much abroad, whose discipline was relaxed: yet these small houses were richer than they appeared to be, or than was consistent with a vow of voluntary poverty. The superiors received large fines, and low annual rents, and by this contrivance, while they were themselves enriched, they maintained only a small number of brethren. Many houses, then rated at two hundred pounds, were actually worth as many thousands. When the bill for their dissolution was in its progress through the house of lords, Stokesly, bishop of London, said, “These smaller houses were as thorns soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others in Christendom before many years were passed.”

For the better regulation of the revenues arising from the dissolved monasteries, they were given to the king for ever. By another statute*, a new court was erected, called the court of augmentations of the king’s revenue, and this court was enabled to receive the rents and profits of all the suppressed or dissolved monasteries, with the exception of such as were continued by the king’s letters patent. The court was likewise invested with a power of selling the lands of such houses, if it conduced to the king’s service. It was composed of a chancellor, a treasurer, and two auditors, besides inferior officers; and it had power to summon three discreet persons of the county where the religious house was situated, and who had been

* St. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

previously nominated by the king. These three persons, in conjunction with an auditor and a clerk, were to signify to the house the statute of dissolution; to demand from the superior, or some accredited officer, its true state; to require his attendance before the court; and, in the mean time, not to meddle with the property of the house. They were to ascertain the number of religious in the house; how many of these were priests, and how many were willing to embrace a secular life. They were to examine the fabric of the house, and the amount of its debts: such of its members as were inclined to go into the world were to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, or the lord chancellor, to receive capacities, and were to be assigned a reasonable compensation to defray their removal. The governor of the house was to be remitted to the court of augmentations, who were to assign an annual pension to him for the remainder of his life.

A. D.
1536.

Hen. VIII.

The historians and annalists of these times have furnished a melancholy detail of the manner in which the court exercised its powers. The number of religious houses dissolved under the first act has been computed at three hundred and seventy-six; the rents of the dissolved houses have been estimated at thirty-two thousand pounds; and their moveable property has been valued at more than three times that sum*. The buildings, including the churches, were for the most part razed, and the materials exposed to public sale. Ten thousand persons were thrown upon the world, deprived

* Lord Herbert's *Life of Hen. VIII.*

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of their usual means of subsistence; and some of them, at an advanced age, were compelled to follow a secular occupation, which they had also the harder task to learn *.

Various expedients were adopted to mitigate the discontent incidental on the suppression of the smaller monasteries. The abuses which prevailed in them were exposed to public view, with every circumstance of exaggeration. The lands of the dissolved houses were sold at a low price, or given away to the gentry of the several counties, and on a tenure which compelled the grantees or purchasers to exercise hospitality and charity. Still more, the king availed himself of a clause in the statute of dissolution, enabling him to continue such monasteries as he might think expedient; and, by virtue of this clause, he restored fifteen abbeys and sixteen nunneries †. These restored foundations were bound by their new tenures to pay tenths and first-fruits to the crown, and to obey all the statutes which might be transmitted from the king, as supreme head of the church.

Notwithstanding these concessions, the dissolution of the small monasteries was regarded by the wealthy corporations with alarm, and the crowds of wanderers who were thrown on their charity excited their displeasure. A royal letter, addressed to them for the purpose of allaying their fears, tended rather to excite their suspicions. Rebellion, the consequence of discontent, followed:

* Stowe's Annals. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3.

it began in the county of Lincoln, and was headed by one Maçkarel, prior of Barlings^{*}; and it assumed a formidable aspect in the county of York. The march of the rebels was styled by themselves the pilgrimage of grace, and one of their avowed objects was the restoration of the suppressed monasteries; but, like other unsuccessful insurgents, they accelerated the evil which they intended to prevent. The malcontents having been defeated by the duke of Suffolk†, disaffection was overawed, but not removed; and the king, taking advantage of the panic, instituted a second visitation of the monasteries.

A. D.
1537.

Hen. VIII.

October.

The visitors were now enjoined to be more rigid in their inquiries. They were to examine into the domestic life of the several religious houses, to ascertain how their members were affected towards the government of the king, and especially his ecclesiastical supremacy; they were particularly to inquire what their behaviour had been during the late commotions.

To avoid a scrutiny which might terminate unfavourably for their reputation, or which, however it terminated, would not avert their ruin, many of the greater monasteries surrendered to the king. The governors were induced to adopt this measure from various motives. Some had been actually and notoriously implicated in the late rebellion, others had been guilty of immorality and peculation, and a few were inclined to a reformation in religion. Barlow, bishop of Saint David's, not only sur-

* Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. b. 2.

† And afterwards by the duke of Norfolk. Burnet.

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rendered his own monastery at Bushlisham, but prevailed on many other superiors of religious houses to follow his example. In many houses, the superior and his fraternity were not sorry to be released from their vows and restrictions, and to secure by a ready submission a competent provision, unfettered by duty. Others aspired to ecclesiastical dignities, and their prompt compliance with the wishes of the court was the price of their advancement. In some houses, on a vacancy of the superior's place, a successor was appointed, with a condition that he should surrender the house. On all these accounts, a large number of monasteries were resigned into the king's hands, before any statute was passed for their dissolution.

The general form of these surrenders was, that the superior and brethren, after full deliberation of their own proper motion, for certain just and honourable causes, did freely and of their own accord give and grant their houses to the king. Those who were truly conscientious rejected the plea of conscience, and tendered their resignations without assigning any reason for their conduct.

Those who did not resign were obliged to undergo the inquisition of the visitors, and many could not withstand such authoritative and powerful appeals. There were some instances where the visitors not only induced the governor and brethren to resign, but to sign a confession of their former scandalous and immoral lives. The prior and Benedictines of Saint Andrew, in Northampton, acknowledged, in the instrument of surrender, that they had neglected the worship of God, lived in idleness, gluttony, and sensuality, for which

offences the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up*.

A. D.
1537.

Hen. VIII.

Although the perspicacity of the visitors in discovering the corruptions of the monasteries was quickened by the hope of sharing in the plunder, yet in some instances they left an honourable testimony to the excellent discipline of the house. They even recommended that some houses should be spared. The prior of Great Malvern, in the county of Worcester, was recommended by bishop Latimer to Cromwell, with an earnest desire that his house might stand “not in monkery, but so as to be converted to study and prayer.” He was represented by the bishop as a man of great worth, conspicuous for his hospitality and almsgiving. To this commendation Latimer, however animated by zeal against the corruptions of the Romish church, could not forbear to add: “Alas! my good lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such a remedy†?” The visitors also earnestly interceded for the nunnery of Godstow, near Oxford, where a great strictness of discipline was observed. Of such reputation was this house, that the nobility and gentry of the county joined in the petition of the visitors that the nunnery might be spared, since it was the usual place of female education.

While a few institutions were of such high merit as to endure an ordeal so severe, others of at least

* Burnet’s History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3.

† Anne Boleyn was altogether averse to the suppression of religious houses, and put Hugh Latimer on preaching before the king against it. Collier’s Eccl. Hist. b. 2.

CHAP. V. questionable utility endeavoured to escape it by offering bribes and pensions. The prior of Canterbury, and the abbot of Saint Edmonsbury, are recorded to have tried this expedient with Cromwell. The abbot of Bury settled an annuity of ten pounds on Cromwell, and another of the same value on his son. But such arts had no effect with the vicegerent; he had more prevalent motives, and more tempting promises on the other side*.

As there were some of the superiors whom nothing could intimidate, or induce to betray their trust, recourse was had to violent expedients. Some of the abbots were attainted, and in consequence of their attainder their lands were confiscated; whereas the offence of any ecclesiastical incumbent must be personal, and his benefice incapable of moral or political delinquency; his estates are not estates of inheritance, and not like those subjected to the laws of forfeiture. But in the case of the prior of the Charter-house in London, there was not even a pretence of guilt in the superior. Several of the Carthusian monks had been executed for denying the king's supremacy, and others, whose guilt was less evident, had been sentenced to confinement in their cells for life; but of the prior, one of the visitors† testified that he was a man of unbounded charity, and that the eyes of the people were much on that house. A recommendation was added by the visitor, that the house should be preserved for the good of the kingdom, enforced by this just reflection: "London is the common

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, p. 2. b. 3.

† Thomas Bedyll, in a letter to archbishop Cranmer. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. i.

country of all lands, whence is derived to all parts of the kingdom all good and evil accidents here.” A. D.
1539.
 The representation was unavailing; the prior was Hen. VIII.
 compelled to resign, with a confession, that many of the Carthusians had offended the king, so that their goods might be justly confiscated, and themselves adjudged to death, but that they desired to avert the merited punishment by a humble submission and surrender.

The facility with which some of these resignations were procured, and the unjustifiable methods by which others were extorted, occasioned doubts of their legality. To silence any cavils of this kind, an act was passed to convey all religious houses already dissolved, or to be dissolved hereafter, to the king and his heirs for ever*. It was recited in the statute, that many abbots and priors, and other heads of religious houses, had, voluntarily, and without restraint or compulsion, given them up to the king. Those resignations which were undoubtedly made illegally, the statute legalized.

The mitred abbots continued their parliamentary attendance until this act passed. They made no protestation, though at the first reading of the bill eighteen abbots were present, at the second reading twenty, and at the third reading seventeen. The bill originated in the house of lords, was soon sent down to the commons, and finally received the royal assent.

The surrender or dissolution of all the great abbeys was the immediate consequence of this statute. Of the twenty-eight mitred abbeys, twenty-

* Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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five were surrendered; all their abbots were assigned a liberal pension, and some were remunerated by other ecclesiastical dignities. Benson, the last abbot of Westminster, having surrendered, his abbey was converted into a deanery, and he was appointed the first dean. Chambers, the abbot of Peterborough, when a see was founded there, was consecrated its bishop; and the abbot of Evesham was rewarded by the deanery of Worcester*.

The three abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester alone, had sufficient constancy not to survive the spoliation of their property and the extinction of their order. Next to Westminster, Glastonbury was the richest monastery in England, and, like that, could boast of a Saxon king for its founder. Its abbot, Richard Whiting, was accused of sending the plate and money of his abbey to assist the rebels in the north, and of having in his possession a treatise against the king's divorce; but after a deliberate comparison of the contradictory accounts of his trial and execution†, the candid historian will conclude that his incomppliance with the views of the court, and his refusal to surrender his abbey, were his greatest crimes.

December.

1540.

A separate bill was in the next session brought into parliament, and a statute enacted for the suppression of the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem‡. Their grand master had possession of the island of Malta, which had been guaranteed to the order by the emperor Charles the Fifth, as a compensation

* Willis's History of Mitred Abbeys.

† Godwin, Annal. Sanders, de Schism. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Collier's Eccles. Hist.

‡ Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

for the loss of Rhodes; and as the fraternity was dependent both on the emperor and the pope, it was thought inexpedient that any branch of the establishment should be permitted to continue in England. Sir William Weston, the prior, had sought refuge in France*, and had resisted the general statute of dissolution; but to the particular statute directed against the hospitallers he was compelled to submit. Though the order was dissolved, yet, as the knights were of high extraction, pensions were bestowed on them suitable to their rank. Seventeen knights had annuities, varying from two hundred to thirty pounds; ten novices had each a pension of ten pounds, and the total amount of the pensions was nearly equal to the annual rent of the estates. One thousand pounds was the annuity assigned to sir William Weston for the loss of his dignity, but he died on the day of the dissolution of his order. "His hospital," observes Fuller, "and his earthly tabernacle were buried together; and gold, though a great cordial, could not cure a broken heart."

A. D.
1540.
Hen. VIII.

These confiscations of the greater and less monasteries were not sufficient; for, some years after, a third statute conveyed† all colleges, chantries, chapels, and hospitals consisting of secular priests, to the king and his successors. To the operation of this act the universities were subjected, and it was not till after strong remonstrances had been presented, that their rights were secured by another law, by which they were exempted from the general dissolution.

1545.

* Selden's Table Talk.

† Stat. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 34.

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The number of monasteries dissolved in England and Wales, according to the most accredited computation, was six hundred and forty-five, the number of colleges was ninety; besides two thousand three hundred chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals. The nominal value of the rental of the dissolved houses exceeded one hundred and sixty thousand pounds*, being above a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom; but the real value of this property has been computed at more than nine tenths of its nominal value.

Various projects were announced for the application of this enormous mass of wealth thus suddenly thrown on the disposal of the crown; but the abandonment of these schemes induces a suspicion that they were never seriously entertained. At one time it was proposed to found a college on an extensive scale for the study of the civil law, and the Latin and French languages; and a plan of the projected institution, drawn by sir Nicholas Bacon, by the king's command, is yet extant. Its object was to qualify students for diplomatic situations, and for the office of accredited and national historians.

Prospects of national advantage were also opened, which a short time proved to be fallacious or visionary. It was stated to the parliament that the monastic property was not to be converted to private use, but that the exchequer was to be enriched, "to the king's honour," and to the ease and benefit of the subject. Subsidies, loans, and all other imposts, were no longer to be levied; for

* £161,100.

this addition to his revenue would enable the king to defend his dominions against insurrection or invasion*.

A. D.
1539.

Hen. VIII.

The catastrophe showed that these statements were false, and these anticipations vain. Whether from policy or from prodigality, by far the most valuable part of the monastic property was given away, or sold at a low rate, to the favourites of the court. Their new owners enjoyed it on the same tenure, and with the same exemptions, as the monastic corporations. A clause in one of the statutes of dissolution provided that all churches and chapels which belonged to the monasteries, and were formerly exempted from the visitation or jurisdiction of their ordinary, should be within the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese where they were situated, or of any other that should be appointed by the king. The latter part of this clause vitiated the intention of the whole act. The purchasers of the abbey lands, with their impropriated tithes, obtained by an express grant the right of visitation over those churches and chapels which were formerly exempted. Hence, not only the incumbents of these parishes were destitute of any other than an arbitrary pension from their patrons, but were freed from ecclesiastical restraint. This abuse has sensibly operated to the subversion of discipline, and the scandal of religion.

A small part of the monastic spoils was applied to the foundation of new bishoprics. The abbey of Westminster was converted into an episcopal see, with the necessary officers of a cathedral and choir. This foundation soon reverted to its former

1540.

* Coke's Institut. p. 4.

CHAP. collegiate state; but five other sees, founded by
V. Henry the Eighth, yet subsist. The monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, was converted into a bishopric, with a deanery and six prebends. The abbey of Peterborough was erected into a bishop's see, with a similar establishment, as was also the monastery of St. Augustine at Bristol. From the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester was founded a fourth bishopric and chapter: a fifth was constituted from the abbey of Oseney, near Oxford; but the bishop was styled of Oxford, and his cathedral was soon fixed at Christ-church, the dean and canons of the college forming his episcopal chapter. The university of Oxford was exempted by prescription and charter from episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction, and with these academical privileges the new foundation did not interfere.

Another portion of the monastic property was restored to the church in the foundation of cathedral establishments. It was not the design of Cranmer, as is commonly supposed, to abolish these establishments, but to reform them; and, from places of idleness and sensuality, to make them seminaries of learning. His intention was, that in every cathedral there should be a competent provision for readers in divinity, and in the Greek and Hebrew languages; and that its chapter should be the theological college of the whole diocess.

In consequence of his recommendation, some of the cathedral and conventual chapters were founded on a new model; though even in their old state they were far more regular and useful than the abbeys. The metropolitan chapter of Christ-church in Canterbury called forth the commendation of

Crammer, and obtained the favour of Cromwell. Goldwell, the prior, was nominated by Crammer one of the prebendaries on the new foundation, and not less than twenty members of the priory were transferred into the chapter *.

A. D.
1540.
Hen. VIII.

These episcopal and capitular foundations, with a few eleemosynary endowments of less importance, were all that was preserved to the church from the wreck of the monasteries; and here the historical part of the subject ends: But it would be an unsatisfactory termination to close the narrative without some reflections on the policy and justice of this measure, without viewing it in its relation to the interests of religion, the constitution of civil government, and the habits of domestic life. The subject may now be approached without any of those feelings which once rendered its discussion hazardous, or at best unprofitable. Where curiosity can examine without violent emotion, there contemplation may expatiate without interested prejudice.

1. Whatever difference of opinion may still exist on the general utility of monastic institutions, yet there can be none on the manner in which their suppression was effected in England under Henry the Eighth. All the writers of the best reputation who lived near the time, however opposed in political or religious principles, speak the unvaried and unanimous language of indignant lamentation. It is by these writers that the extent of the calamity can be fairly estimated, because they saw the wounds inflicted by sacrilege while they were yet green. Bale the centurist, a man remarkably averse

*. Willis's *History of Mitred Abbeyes*, vol. ii.

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V.

from popery and all its appendages, breaks out into the strongest tone of remonstrance against the indiscriminate pillage of the monasteries. Fuller, an historian with feelings naturally equable, utters a passionate declamation on the atrocity of the deed. Spelman condemns the destruction of the monasteries from a dread of profanation, Dugdale from a love of recondite learning, and Selden from a hatred of arbitrary power.

2. The measure was carried into execution in a manner which fully justifies the representations of contemporary writers. It was marked not only by rapacious avarice, but by a wanton and reckless love of plunder and devastation. Edifices, the pride and boast of sacred architecture, were desecrated with more than gothic barbarity. Libraries were pillaged and destroyed with the same eagerness as the plate and money were seized and appropriated. The books and manuscripts, instead of being removed to some other foundation, and preserved in one of the cathedrals or universities, were often given carelessly, or sold for a trivial consideration, to the grantees of the abbeys. There was scarcely a religious house which had not a library, and many collections were extensive, and the books were of great value*. The art of printing, being then in its infancy, had secured but few books; and if the same ignorant and

* There were not less than seventeen hundred manuscripts in the library of Peterborough. The library of the Gray Friars, in London, built by sir Richard Whittingdon, was 129 feet in length and 30 feet in breadth, and well filled. The great library at Wells had twenty-five windows on each side of it. Preface to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

brutal rage against the monasteries had prevailed throughout Europe, which was excited in England, literature would have sustained a loss that could be neither calculated nor repaired. The monastic libraries were the repository of all the learning which was then cultivated, or which had descended from former ages. In the larger abbeys, persons were appointed to record the principal events which happened in the kingdom, and at the end of every year to digest them into annals. The constitutions of the clergy in their national and provincial synods, together with the acts of parliament, were sent to the abbeys to be enrolled, and there also private families sent their hereditary documents to be preserved. Monastic records furnished Selden with his strongest evidences, for the right of dominion asserted by the kings of England within the narrow seas. The loss of these libraries has left a chasm in our national history, which must ever be deplored, and which cannot be supplied*.

3. It was not a love of pure religion, it was not any hatred of popery and its superstitions, which occasioned the destruction of the English monasteries. The chief instigators, and the most active instruments in the work, were the avowed friends of the church of Rome. It was sanctioned by Henry, who, whether supporting or renouncing the authority of the pope, was throughout his life a doctrinal Romanist. It obtained the commenda-

* Divinity was profaned, mathematics suffered for correspondence with evil spirits, physic was maimed, and a riot committed on the law itself. Fuller's Church History, b. vi.

CHAP. tion of Gardiner, whose religious sentiments, as
 V. far as they can be known, were not less favourable to the church of Rome than those of Henry. It was effected principally by London, who was notoriously guilty of those vices which he was so eager to detect and punish, and who was afterwards distinguished as a rancorous persecutor of the protestants. With respect to the religious creed of Cromwell, it was at least dubious; his early education, under Wolsey, was in the church of Rome, and his last declaration was that he died in the catholic faith. He was solicitous to expose the vices and superstitions of the religious houses, as a pretext which he knew would reconcile their destruction to many of the reformers.

4. The distribution of the monastic wealth was not less unjust than its rapacious seizure. Many modern families were enriched by the grant, or beneficial purchase, of the abbey lands; but many ancient families were deprived of privileges derived from their ancestors, whose munificence had been applied to the foundation of religious houses. Not only were the abbeys a provision and an asylum for the younger branches of the nobility, and a place of education for all ranks, but the descendants of the founders had the privilege of corrodies, and the right of patronage. The noble family of Berkeley, by inheritance or marriage, enjoyed the patronage of not less than fifteen abbacies*. These rights were annihilated without equivalent or consideration.

5. The observations already offered affect not

* Fuller's Church History, b. vi.

the general question of the utility of monastic institutions in relation to government and religion, and it may be safely pronounced that they had a pernicious influence on both. Under the feudal system, the monastic seignories formed an useful, and even a necessary, balance to the overgrown power of the temporal barons. The cloistered sanctuary, which at last was abused to the concealment and security of crime, was originally a protection from lawless oppression and sanguinary revenge. Even the military orders, connected as they were with feudalism, operated as a corrective of its ferocity and injustice. It was not until the power of the English barons had been broken by the policy of Henry the Seventh, that the abbeys could have been dissolved, without danger to the prerogatives of the crown and the liberties of the people.

But when the feudal system was succeeded by a form of civil polity more favourable to moral and intellectual improvement, and consequently to the happiness of mankind, then the vices of the monastic character appeared in their full deformity: associated with feudalism, they derived some relief from contrast, but there was nothing in a free government with which they could harmonize. The privileges of an order of men, dis severed from all the ties of social life, and exempted from obedience to the laws, were then seen to be incompatible with the rights of the community.

The dissolution of the religious orders was a necessary result of the policy adopted by Henry the Seventh, though not the result intended by himself. It was the consequence of the change

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introduced by him into the English constitution, and it was also the consequence of the progress of religious reformation in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

6. If the monastic state be unfavourable to the enjoyment of political freedom, it is not less hostile to the advancement of pure Christianity. Viewed in the fairest light, it is a state in which, if some errors and vices may be avoided, many duties are rendered impracticable; it is a state which men may adopt, not from a love of virtue, but from a dread of sin. From the spirit of the Christian religion it is totally abhorrent, and it is hardly reconcileable with its precepts. Every season of human life has its appropriate duties, and requires a correspondent disposition of the mind:

Ἔργα νεῶν, βεβαί τε μέσων, εὐχαι τε γερόντων.*

But the piety of old age is not to be confined within a cloister; it is not to be relegated from society more than the activity of youth or the discretion of manhood: blended with both, it produces a beautiful harmony, by giving a right direction to the energy of the young, and by refining and elevating the wisdom of mature years. It thus connects human strength and human wisdom with their divine author, and teaches man to use them as the gifts of God.

* “Let youth in deeds, in counsel man engage;
Prayer is the proper duty of old age.”—HESIOD.

CHAPTER VI.

Progress of the Reformation with Respect to Doctrine.—Prelates divided.—Conduct of Crammer.—Henry refuses to adopt the Confession of Augsburg, and to join the Smalcaldian League.—Translation of the Bible begun.—Formularies. 1. King's Primer; 2. Articles of Religion; 3. Institution of a Christian Man.—Translation of the Bible completed.—Divisions of the Clergy on the Sacraments and the Corporal Presence.—Disputation of Alesius, and of Lambert.—Statute of the Six Articles.

To consider the English reformation in two distinct points of view,—first, as it affected the government, and, secondly, as it regarded the doctrines of the church,—while it materially assists the perspicuity of the history, will scarcely disturb its chronological order. The papal jurisdiction had now been abolished, and one great branch of the Romish hierarchy had been destroyed, for the monastic orders were no more; but still the creed and the ritual of the Romish church subsisted entire. In one of the statutes, which most strongly impugned the authority of the pope, a declaration was inserted, that it was not intended to decline from the ancient faith as professed by the catholic church of Christendom*.

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The proceedings of Henry in respect of the non-asteries had kindled afresh the anger of the pope, which the death of Catherine and the execution of Anne Boleyn had suppressed; and the fulminations

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* Stat. Hen. VIII. c. 21. s. 19.

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of the vacillating Clement were directed with greater force by his successor Paul the Third; but no provocation from the Romish pontiff could induce Henry to depart from what he considered the standard of orthodoxy. His love of theological knowledge was ardent, his attainments in theology were not contemptible; and these circumstances, joined with the prejudices of his education, prevented, throughout his reign, any progress in doctrinal reformation: it was generally stationary, and sometimes retrograde.

There were, doubtless, periods of his life when his religious opinions appeared to be under control. His successive queens embraced opposite sentiments; and it would not be difficult to show, that his uncertain course in the work of reformation was sometimes guided by female influence. The predilection of Anne Boleyn for the protestant cause is acknowledged, but it is probable that she was a Romanist in doctrine*; and though her death was deeply lamented by the reformers, yet it scarcely impeded the reformation. Of far more importance, in guiding the religious opinions of Henry, were his two last queens, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr. While the first enjoyed his favour, she had almost brought him to a retractation of all his previous measures; and while Catherine Parr softened the irritability of his declining years, she laboured not unsuccessfully to subdue his antipathy against the protestant doctrines.

* She appears to have believed in the corporal presence. After her confinement in the Tower, she requested that a consecrated host might be placed in her closet. Lingard's History of England, vol. vi. 8vo. ed.

The clergy of England, though unanimous in renouncing the authority of the pope, were divided in the expediency of doctrinal reformation, and the numerical strength of the bishops was on each side equal. On the side of the protestants were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Shaxton, of Salisbury; Latimer, of Worcester; Fox, of Hereford; Hilsey, of Rochester; and Barlow, of Saint David's. The Romanists could boast of Lee, archbishop of York; Stokesley, bishop of London; Tonsal, of Durham; Gardiner, of Winchester; Sherborne, of Chichester; Nix, of Norwich; and Kite, of Carlisle. These conflicting interests visibly discovered themselves in the upper house of convocation, and in the lower house their clerks and chaplains generally adhered to the party of their lords and patrons*.

After claiming an exception in behalf of Fox, whose support of the reformation was distinguished by talent and temper, the assertion of Burnet must be admitted, that on Cranmer alone the task rested of sustaining the contest with the Romanists. The other bishops who adhered to him impeded his designs. Latimer's simplicity and weakness provoked contempt; Shaxton's contentiousness and pride excited hatred; and Barlow's ostentation raised disgust. The opponents of Cranmer, particularly Stokesley, Gardiner, and Tonsal, were not ordinary men; and it is much to say, what may be fairly said of him, that his abilities were fully equal to those by which he was encountered. To

* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. Fuller's Church History, b. 5. s. 3.

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say that he was equal to the situation in which he was placed, could be scarcely said of any man. While his duties were of great variety and importance, the difficulties by which he was assailed were peculiar. If, therefore, he were on some points irresolute or temporizing, it should be remembered, that he was exposed to dangers which are appalling to humanity, and that the times in which he lived were unparalleled. Considering him in his relation to the church, he had not only to fulfil the arduous duties of a pastor and chief governor, but he had to lay the foundation of the ecclesiastical polity of England. He had not only to see that the clergy maintained and taught “the form of sound doctrine,” but he had to define and determine what “the form of sound doctrine” was. He had to decide some of the most abstruse points of theology and metaphysics, and in their discussion was compelled to sustain the part both of a moderator and a disputant.

The question might be asked without irreverence, “who is sufficient for these things?” And a consequent question occurs,—who could have been found more “sufficient” than Cranmer? That he has been loaded with obloquy by the followers of the church of Rome is no proof of his insufficiency; but an incontestable proof of his excellence is, that he commanded the respect of all descriptions of protestants. He was honoured by the praise of men whose opinions were not only opposite to his own, but to each other; of men who proceeded not so far, or who went farther than himself, in separation from the discipline and tenets of the

Romish church. He preserved the esteem of Erasmus*, who died in its communion, although convinced of its errors; of Melancthon, who quitted it with timidity and reluctance; of Calvin, who renounced it with antipathy and detestation.

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Before Crammer had made a single attempt to reform the doctrines of the English church, the protestant princes of the Germanic empire had made overtures for an alliance with the king of England. Such an alliance seemed desirable to both parties, and as the union was to be religious as well as political, an agreement was to be effected between the English and German divines. The celebrated confession of Augsburgh was the acknowledged creed of the foreign protestants, and their theological leaders attempted with no small earnestness to introduce it into England. To effect this purpose, they employed all the fair arts of ingratiation and address. Melancthon dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the king of England, and Luther himself was prevailed on to offer an apology for the personal acrimony of his polemical attacks. The Germanic divines offered to send a deputation to England, that the points of difference between the English and foreign protestant churches might be discussed, and that such a discussion might lead to an union.

Henry, whose object was to form a political

* Erasmus thus describes Crammer: “*Professione theologus, vir integerrimus candidisque moribus. Qui ultro pollicitus est sese in studio ac beneficentia erga me priori nequaquam cessurum, et quod sponte pollicitus est, sponte præstare cœpit, ut mihi Vuaramus non ereptus, sed in Cranmero renatus videri queat.*” *Erasm. epist. vii. c. 27.*

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league, rather than to subscribe a religious confession, received the overtures of these divines with becoming respect, but with no disposition to accept them. When the divines of Wirtemberg ventured to insinuate that he had only removed some light abuses, while more grievous errors were retained, his reply was, that the king of England, knowing himself to be the most learned prince in Europe, thought it a derogation to submit to them; he rather expected that they should submit to him.

The princes and confederated states, who had formed the league of Smalcald, joined their invitations with those of the German divines, and offered certain conditions, on which they agreed to declare the king of England the head and protector of their league*. They required, that the king should encourage, promote, and maintain, the true doctrine of Christ as contained in the Augsburgh confession, unless by mutual assent any alterations might be made therein; that the king should defend the Augsburgh confession at the next general council, if it were "pious, catholic, free, and Christian;" that neither of the contracting parties should allow of the intimation of a council, or agree to the place, unless by joint consent; that if the pope should persist in calling a council without the agreement of the king and confederates, its decrees should not be respected within their respective dominions; that the primacy or monarchy of the bishop of Rome should be formally and totally renounced; and that the king should advance one

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. iii. Appendix, No. 44.

hundred thousand crowns immediately in support of the league, and double that sum hereafter, if required. With respect to the present contribution, they had asked only a moiety of the sum given by themselves; and although they had demanded a larger contribution in future, if there were a necessity, yet they agreed to refund a part even of the first payment, if it were not expended. They desired that the king would signify his intentions to the landgrave of Hesse; and on learning them, the princes would send their ambassadors, accompanied by some divine, to confer with the king concerning the articles of doctrine and the ceremonies of the church.

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To these demands the king sent two successive replies, the one before, and the other after, the death of Anne Boleyn*. In the first, he stated his intention to set forth the true doctrine of Christ, which he was ready to defend with his life; but that he being reckoned somewhat learned, and having many learned men in his kingdom, he could not think it meet to accept, at the hand of any creature, what should be the faith of himself or his realm, the only foundation of which was scripture. He expressed his hope that they would not be grieved at this determination; but that they would send over some of their learned men, to confer with himself and the learned men of his own kingdom, to the intent that there might be between both a perfect union of faith. He would willingly join with them in all general councils that were catholic, free, and convened in a place safe for all par-

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 3. Appendix, No. 45 and 46.

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ties*, for the defence of the true doctrine of the gospel. As for ceremonies, there might be such a diversity used throughout the world, that he thought the order and limitation of them should be left to the governors of every nation, supposing that each of them can determine those which are most commodious for his own dominions. He agreed, that neither they nor himself should accept the constitutions of a general council, but by mutual consent; but that if such a council were assembled in a safe place, it should not be refused. The king did not think fit to accept the title and situation offered to him, till there should be an entire agreement upon the articles of doctrine ; but those being once adjusted, he would thankfully accept the same. There was a secret article, that the king should pay a proportion of expenses already incurred by the confederates, a proposition which he thought “very strange and somewhat unreasonable;” but in future he was willing to contribute according to the proportion specified by themselves.

After a deliberate consideration, and under different circumstances, Henry transmitted his second answer. It began with the warmest expressions of regard for their virtues, and of gratitude for their benevolent disposition towards himself, and expressed his wish of continuing a friendly correspondence on the subject of religion. His wish for a reformation was not less strong than in time past, and at present he was not moved by any “private necessity,” that either himself or his realm could have, to join in a league with the confede-

* *Catholici, et liberi, in loco etiam omni parte tuto.*

rates. He and his kingdom were now in perfect peace: by the death of a woman* all calumnies were extinguished, so that neither the bishop of Rome, nor the emperor, nor any other prince, had any quarrel with him. That the confederates might be assured of his good affection to themselves, to the reformation of the church, and abolition of abuses, he still offered his former contribution for the defence of the league. On condition of an agreement in articles of faith, he was still willing to accept the title of protector and defender of their religion. In return for these concessions on his part, he required that, in case his dominions were invaded, the confederates should furnish him with a stated number of men and ships; and that, in all councils, they would promote and defend the opinion which several protestant divines† had expressed on the subject of his marriage.

In this manner, the negotiation between Henry and the confederates of the Smalcaldian league terminated, with mutual protestations of friendship and esteem, and with a contribution of a small sum from the English monarch. But the intercourse was prolonged with the divines of the Augsburg confession, and a deputation, according to the original proposal, was sent to England.

Of Melancthon Henry had always expressed the highest admiration, and had frequently invited this eminent reformer into his dominions; but Melancthon was engaged by more indispensable avocations, and was unable to join the deputation. The divines

* Anne Boleyn.

† Dr. Martin (meaning Luther), Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melancthon.

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who were sent remained in England several months, and were treated by Henry with civility, and by Cromwell and Cranmer with kindness; but they returned without settling any of their theological differences. When they were dismissed, Henry sent to the elector of Saxony his assurances of esteem: he doubted not that good effects would follow even from this beginning of a conference; but the matters in debate, being of the highest moment, ought to be maturely considered. He again requested that Melancthon might be sent over to him, and declared his intention of applying himself wholly to those studies which it became a Christian prince to pursue.

While these fruitless negotiations were carrying on to engage Henry in an union with the Smalcaldian league, founded on the basis of the Augsburg confession, Cranmer was steadily pursuing his great object. No man was more intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the foreign reformers, no man more willingly acknowledged their high merits, yet no man was more sensible of their errors*. In the promotion of his designs, he was not disposed to render an implicit submission to their authority. An union with the foreign protestant churches was with him a subordinate consideration: his first wish was that "the church of England might be free†."

This principle, unmoveably fixed in his mind, was sufficient to preserve him from enthusiastic or

* I have seen in some of his letters to Osiander, and some of Osiander's to him, he very much disliked the violence of the German divines. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. p. 1. b. ii.

† Magna charta.

latitudinarian errors. He was convinced that religious liberty must be founded on obedience to the word of God, and that, in order to be free, the church of England must be scriptural. It ought to be recorded with pious gratitude, that the first object which engaged his attention, after his elevation, was an authorized translation of THE BIBLE into the English language.

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The translations of the Holy Scriptures, which had been hitherto made, were suppressed as far as possible by ecclesiastical censures and temporal penalties. The written copies of Wiclif's translation had been condemned as heretical*, and those who read them were liable to the punishment inflicted on heretics. When the first printed version of the New Testament by Tindal appeared, Wolsey and the other bishops prohibited its use; and Tonsal, then bishop of London, with sir Thomas More, bought almost the whole impression, and burnt it at Saint Paul's cross†. The author, not dismayed, continued his labours: with the assistance of Miles Coverdale he translated the Pentateuch, and to each of the books prefixed a prologue severely animadverting on the bishops and the clergy. The work was dispersed through England, and was eagerly read, but the extraneous matter of the prologues was not calculated to soften the dislike of the clergy against translations in general. A decree of the star chamber condemned the venders of Tindal's translation to burn the books which they had themselves dispersed, at the

* In a convocation of the clergy at Oxford, held under archbishop Arundel.

† Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. b. i.

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standard in Cheapside, and amerced them in a considerable fine. Tindal, in defiance of prohibitions and proclamations, proceeded with his translation; but his prefaces and prologues so highly incensed Henry, that he was seized in Flanders, where he was afterwards burnt, praying, in his last moments, that God would open the eyes of the king of England.

When the jurisdiction of the pope had been legally abolished, and an English convocation, disowning the authority of the Romish see, had assembled under the presidency of its metropolitan, it was strenuously urged, that if the translation of Tindal were false and heretical, a new version should be made. This proposition, moved by Cranmer, and supported by Fox, was opposed by Gardiner, now at the head of the doctrinal Romanists. He asserted, that all the heresies and extravagant opinions, at this time current in Germany, and thence brought into England, originated in an unrestricted use of the scriptures. To offer the whole Bible in the English tongue to the nation at large, during the existing distractions, was a measure full of danger. He therefore proposed that a short exposition of the most useful and necessary doctrines of the Christian faith should be composed for the use of the people, since this was the only way to keep them in obedience to the king and the church in matters of faith.

The friends of reformation were not unwilling that such an exposition should be set forth, but contended that it was not sufficient. They maintained, that the people should be allowed to search the scripture; that they might be convinced of the

conformity of the proposed exposition to the divine word. They adduced an argument of a different kind, and of greater weight, that nothing could so effectually subvert the papal supremacy as a free circulation of the Bible, for there, all the extravagant pretensions of the pope were proved to be groundless.

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These arguments made their due impression, not only on the convocation but the king, and the translation was sanctioned and commanded by the supreme authority. Cranmer began with the New Testament, assigning a portion of the translation to be revised by each bishop. The Acts of the Apostles were allotted to Stokesley; but his answer was, that he wondered at the imprudence of the archbishop in thus infecting the people with heresy; that he had not yet looked into his portion, and that he never would. This refusal on the part of Stokesley appears to have considerably retarded the accomplishment of the work*.

During the time that Cranmer and those prelates who promoted his views were engaged in completing a translation of the scriptures, those popular expositions of the Christian faith, recommended by the convocation, successively appeared. The earliest was the PRIMER, a tract drawn up by a single hand†, but edited by the king's authority. A prefatory admonition to the reader complained of several books calculated to mislead the people in their application to the saints, and to set God and his creatures on the same level. Though many

* Strype's Life of Cranmer.

† It was the work of Cuthbert Marshal, archdeacon of Nottingham. Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. i c. 31.

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divines had made a speculative distinction between *Latria* and *Dulia*, and appropriated the first only to God, yet in practice this distinction was too often forgotten. The Primer itself consisted of an exposition of the ten commandments and the creed, succeeded by a paraphrase on the Lord's prayer. After this followed the salutation of the Virgin, the seven penitential psalms, and a litany. The book was concluded by some prayers and other hymns.

In the next year after the publication of the Primer, a summary of the doctrine of the English church was promulgated, and comprised in the form of ARTICLES. The Primer was intended only for the use of the young and uneducated, but the Articles were intended as a national confession of faith. These articles were not agreed on without a long debate, occasioned by the great diversities of opinion which prevailed in the two houses of convocation. The lower house had drawn up a collection* of those opinions which were deemed erroneous and heretical, but which were maintained by the reformers. The censure of the lower house was aimed particularly at *Craumer*, but it had not the effect intended. The king commanded his vicegerent, *Cromwell*, to lay before the convocation certain articles which he had himself devised, and to require the assent of the clergy. It was stated, that the design of the articles was to establish quietness and unity; and as there were contained in them propositions favourable both to the Romanists and the reformers, they were subscribed by the contending

* Fifty-nine in number. Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. b. ii.

parties. They were then signed by the king, and enforced by a royal declaration.

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As this was the first confession of the English church after its first separation from Rome, a brief abstract of these articles is necessary to show the progress of the reformed doctrines.

First, The people were to be instructed by the bishops and preachers to believe and defend "the whole body and canon of the bible," and the three creeds. All heresies contrary to these were condemned, and also all opinions contrary to the four first general councils.

Secondly, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, the people were to be instructed that it was instituted by Christ for the remission of sins, without which none could attain everlasting life. Not only those of full age, but infants may, and must be, baptized for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they become sons of God. Those of riper years, who desire baptism, must join with it repentance and faith. The opinions of the anabaptists and pelagians are condemned as detestable heresies.

Thirdly, Concerning the sacrament of penance, it was declared to be instituted of Christ, and to be absolutely necessary to salvation. Penance was defined to be a compound of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with outward works of charity, which were its necessary fruits. Contrition was described to be an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because of its offensiveness to God. Faith being the application of the promises of God, was manifested by confession, and this must be made to a priest, if possible; for the absolution

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given by a priest was instituted by Christ, to apply the promise of God's grace and favour to the penitent. Auricular confession was not to be condemned, but all were to use it for the benefit of their consciences. As to amendment of life, with its consequent fruits, though Christ and his death be the only sufficient oblation and sacrifice, yet all men must bring forth fruits worthy of penance. By so doing, they will not only obtain everlasting life, but a mitigation of worldly pains and afflictions.

Fourthly, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, it was taught that, under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for man's redemption; therefore it was to be received with all due reverence, every man having first tried and examined himself according to the direction of Saint Paul.

Fifthly, Justification was defined to be a remission of sins and reconciliation with God; that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ. For the attainment of justification, contrition, faith, and charity are necessary, which qualities must both concur in it, and also follow it. The good works necessary to salvation are not only outward works, but the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Spirit.

The other articles related to the rites and laudable ceremonies of the church. Of images, while it was acknowledged that on account of their abuses they were absolutely forbidden in the Old Testa-

ment, yet, according to the testimony of the best authors, they were allowed in the New Testament. They were of use to represent “virtue and good example,” and to excite devotion, therefore it was expedient that they should still remain in churches. But that the people might not fall into their old superstitions, they were to be cautioned against the abuses of image-worship, and to be taught that censing, kneeling, or making oblations before these images, were acts done not to them, but to the honour of God.

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Concerning the honouring of saints, it was taught that they, being in heaven with Christ, ought to be honoured by Christian people upon earth, but not with that confidence and honour which are due to God only. We must not think to obtain from the hand of saints those blessings which are obtained only of God: as for praying to them, it was incumbent, in order that they might pray for and with us. The days appointed by the church in honour of their memories ought still to be observed, unless the supreme head of the church should hereafter mitigate or moderate them.

The rites and ceremonies of the church were not to be condemned and rejected, but were to be retained as good and laudable; since they had mystical significations in them, and were useful in leading the mind to God. Such were the vestments ordinarily used in the celebration of divine worship; the sprinkling of holy water to put us in mind of our baptism, and of the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption on the cross; the distribution of holy bread, to remind us of the sacrament of the altar; bearing candles on Can-

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dlemas-day in memory of Christ, the spiritual light of the world; sprinkling ashes on Ash Wednesday; bearing palms on Palm-Sunday; creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, and setting up the sepulchre on that day; hallowing the font; and similar exorcisms and benedictions.

With respect to the doctrine of purgatory, it was declared a good and charitable deed to pray for the dead, a custom which had continued in the church from the primitive times. It was the duty of a Christian to pray for souls departed, to commit them in his own prayers to the mercy of God, to cause others to pray by instituting masses and exequies, and to give alms for that purpose. By these prayers of charitable Christians, departed souls may “sooner obtain the mercy of God, and the fruition of his glory.” But since the place in which they were, and the pains which they suffered, were not clearly revealed in scripture, we ought to remit and commend them to the mercy of God: therefore all those abuses which had been advanced under the pretence of purgatory ought to be done away; such as, that pardons from the bishop of Rome could deliver souls out of their pains, or that masses said before any image, or in any particular place, were effectual.

These articles having been submitted to the king, and in many parts corrected with his own hand, were signed by Cromwell as vicegerent, by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, by seventeen bishops, and by forty abbots and priors of the upper house of convocation, and also by fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house. Having been thus signed, they were again presented to

the king, and after receiving his confirmation, were published in his name, and by his authority. The prefatory declaration stated that the king, observing with regret a great diversity of opinion among his subjects about articles of faith and ceremonies, had in his own person applied himself to the study of these points. He required his people gratefully to accept these articles; praying God so to illuminate their hearts, that they might have no less zeal and love to unity in reading, than he had in devising and setting forth, this standard of sound doctrine. If his present endeavours met a good acceptance, he should be encouraged to continue his labours in such a manner as might conduce to the honour of God, as well as to the advantage and tranquillity of his subjects*.

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When these articles were published, they were received with greater pleasure by the reformers than by the Romanists. The former were rejoiced to see so rapid an advance already made, and were encouraged to hope for other and still more important changes. The scriptures and the three creeds were laid down as the standard of faith, without mentioning tradition or the decrees of the church. In the next place, the foundation of the Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man were rightly defined, without entering into any scholastic subtleties. The worship of saints and images, though not removed, was palliated, and purgatory was declared to be uncertain. If some superstitious

* Bishop Lloyd's Formularies. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. b. 2.

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doctrines and ceremonies were retained, the royal declaration promised that they might hereafter be softened or done away. Four sacraments out of seven were entirely omitted.

The more prudent and moderate of the foreign protestants acknowledged the pacific spirit and beneficial tendency of these articles. So highly were they approved by the emperor and the more learned divines of Germany, that they formed the basis of that system of doctrine called "the Interim;" because it contained temporary regulations, which were to continue no longer in force than until the meeting of a free general council *.

To confer greater credit and authority on this confession of faith, injunctions were published by Cromwell in the name of the king. In these, every ecclesiastical incumbent was commanded to instruct his congregation, four times in a year, that the bishop of Rome had no authority in England; to set forth the articles lately sanctioned by convocation; and, at the same time, to distinguish those which were articles of faith from those which were merely rules for the decent and politic order of the church. Images or relics, either for superstition or gain, were no longer to be extolled, neither were pilgrimages to be recommended; but in their room were to be enforced the moral commands of God, and works of charity. The people were to be exhorted to teach their children the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the commandments, in English, and their pastors were to explain a portion of them daily. Among other regulations,

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3.

every beneficed person who did not reside was required to distribute among the poor of his parish one fortieth part of the revenues of his benefice; every incumbent whose annual income amounted to one hundred pounds was obliged to maintain an exhibitioner at a public school, or at one of the universities; and this exhibitioner, after the completion of his studies, was to be the coadjutor of the incumbent in the duties of his cure.

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Besides the Primer and the Articles, the bishops and clergy friendly to the reformation prevailed with the king to set forth a more copious exposition of the Christian religion. This remarkable book was entitled "THE INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN," and had been drawn up by the order of convocation three years before its publication*. It contained an explanation of the common creed†, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the salutation of the Virgin, with two articles on justification and purgatory. Its object, as stated in the preface, was "to set forth a plain and sincere doctrine, containing the whole sum of all those things which appertain unto the profession of a Christian man." The former articles were illustrated in it, with large additions on the seven sacraments, and the articles of justification and purgatory. It seems to be the aim of "the Institution," as well as of "the Articles," to conciliate the reformers and the doctrinal Romanists; and as it received the signature of the

* Bishop Lloyd's Formularies. The Institution was sometimes called the Bishop's Book.

† The apostles' creed.

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prelates * and divines of both parties, it is probable that each party conceded to the other some of its leading opinions. The corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar was asserted, without affirming that the substance of bread and wine was destroyed. The sacrament was to be received with reverence and honour, without mentioning adoration.

The most extended exposition relates to the sacrament of orders. The sacerdotal office is distinguished from the civil government of kings and princes, and is said to be instituted by Christ himself. It is called in some places the power of the keys, and is distinct from the power of the sword. It consists of two parts: the one of instruction, and the other of government. This ordinance of teaching and governing the church was committed by Christ to different orders, and divided into distinct offices, and it is still necessary to be retained. It was committed and given by Christ and his apostles to priests or bishops, whom they first elected, and then admitted by imposition of hands. With strict truth it may be called a sacrament, because it consists of two parts; of a spiritual and inward grace, and of an outward and a visible sign.

The authority of the priesthood is divided into two branches; the power of order, and the power of jurisdiction. Concerning the first, as it is undisputed, nothing is said; but the second is subdivided into three parts; the power of censure and

* Of twenty-one bishops, and twenty-five other divines.

excommunication; the power of ordination and perpetuating the hierarchy; and the power of making ecclesiastical laws.

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In the sequel of the exposition, the supremacy of the pope is shown to be an usurpation unknown in the primitive ages. There was no disparity in the apostolical character, for all the apostles were on an equality with respect to authority and jurisdiction. The authority of metropolitans and patriarchs was only a regulation conducive to the good government of the church, but was not of divine institution. Two orders alone of the sacerdotal office are mentioned, those of bishops and priests.

Thus far the reformation had proceeded without any schism among the clergy, and without any opposition on the part of the king. Cromwell had gained an ascendant over the mind of Henry far beyond any minister, except Wolsey, and by his address carried into execution many of those excellent designs which Cranmer had projected in retirement.

The archbishop, after surmounting many difficulties, completed that great work which had long engaged his attention. It was presented by Cromwell to the king, and a licence was obtained for all the king's subjects to read it without control or danger. The exertions of Cromwell called forth from the primate the warmest acknowledgements, and the most lively expressions of joy. He returned thanks to God, that he had lived to see the dawn of reformation which was now risen on England, since the light of God's word did shine over it without a cloud. Injunctions were issued

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in the name of the king, that all incumbents should provide one of these bibles, and set it up publicly in their churches. They were not to discourage or hinder any from reading it, but, on the contrary, to recommend its diligent perusal. A caution was subjoined not to raise disputes concerning the exposition of any difficult place, but to refer it to men of higher judgment in the scriptures*.

The cause of the reformers might now be called triumphant; but it was unfortunately vulnerable in one point, and there the doctrinal Romanists skilfully directed their attacks. This was the corporal presence, a doctrine maintained in a qualified sense by the foreign protestant churches, and in the strictest sense by the English church. It was a doctrine devoutly believed by the king, and distinctly asserted in the late formularies prepared by the convocation. Though it was the first of the Romish corruptions which Wiclif had attacked nearly two centuries before, yet it was the last which the reformed church of England abandoned. It is certain, that there were many sectarists who denied that any change was produced in the elements of bread and wine by the act of consecration; but they were stigmatised by the name of sacramentarians, and were considered as heretics, not less by the Lutherans than by the Romanists.

Against this heresy Gardiner artfully directed the attention of the king; representing, that nothing could secure the church more effectually against a relapse under the tyranny of the pope than a

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. b. iii. App. No. 11.

vigorous persecution of the sacramentarians. The insidious suggestion would thus be completely refuted, that a separation from the pale of the church of Rome was followed by the most pernicious errors in faith and practice.

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Gardiner was undoubtedly sincere in his belief of the corporal presence, and held it to be an essential part of Christianity; but it is a reasonable supposition, that he saw the reformers inclined to depart from the doctrine, and, seeing their inclination, determined to counteract it by appealing to the prejudices of Henry. That Cranmer at this time inclined to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation has been asserted on no light presumptions*; and, that he wavered on the capital and distinguishing tenet of the Romish church, may be inferred from his recorded declarations.

The nature and number of the sacraments had been debated in an assembly of bishops before the “Institution of a Christian Man” was published by authority. Cromwell, by the royal command, had declared in convocation that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of scripture, and, that these rites and

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* Dr. Wordsworth, from whom it is not safe to dissent, says that Cranmer’s belief in consubstantiation rests on no better authority than the calumnies of his adversaries, and the slight presumptions of his early familiarity with Germans, and his translating the Latin catechism of Justus Jonas. These are not slight presumptions, even if unsupported; but they are strengthened, first, by his familiarity after his return to England with German divines; secondly, by his conduct at the trial of Lambert. Q. What were the opinions of Fox, bishop of Hereford, on the corporal presence? Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.* vol. iii. Note in *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*.

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ceremonies might be fairly discussed, introduced to the assembled bishops a Scottish divine named Alesius*. From the proemium of Cromwell, it appeared, not only that the place of meeting, but that the subject of disputation, had been previously arranged. The question to be debated was that of the seven sacraments; and while Stokesley endeavoured to show that they were of divine institution, by the authority of the schoolmen, Cranmer, supported by Fox, boldly appealed to the scriptures. The reasoning of Fox would be inadequately expressed in any other language than his own: "We be commanded by the king that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of scripture. Think not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again that light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness, and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist never so much. The laity do now know the scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better considered without any glosses at all, than with all the commentaries of the doctors." He warned the

* Or Alexander Alesse. He had lived much with the German divines, particularly Melanethon, and was invited into England by Cromwell and Cranmer, and even by the king himself. He read lectures on divinity at Cambridge; but meeting with opposition there, he returned to London, and applied himself to the study of medicine. See Acts and Monuments by Fox. There was a tract, giving an account of the conference, by Alesse, which supplied Fox with his materials.

assembly against the supposition, that the authority of the pope was sufficient to extinguish that which was commonly called heresy, and thus concluded his eloquent harangue : “ Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth ; and whatsoever is besieged of truth cannot long continue ; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall.”

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An important inference may be drawn from this disputation ; that although the seven sacraments had been maintained both in the “ Articles ” and the “ Institution,” yet the private sentiments of the reformers were in favour of this protestant doctrine, that the only two sacraments of divine institution were those of baptism and the Lord’s supper.

Still there was no evidence that any of the English prelates, who favoured the reformation, proceeded so far as to deny the doctrine of the corporal presence. An occasion however soon presented itself, by which the strength of their belief on this article was brought to the test, and this happened at the trial, or rather the disputation of Lambert*, a noted sacramentarian.

This individual, in his earlier days, had filled the situation of chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp ; but, by the advice of sir Thomas More, had been dismissed on account of his heretical opinions. Leaving Germany, he came to his native country, and relinquishing his ministerial functions, had long been employed in the care of a school at

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* Or John Nicholson.

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London. He might have continued his employment in quietness, if he had not been induced to engage in theological controversy. Having been present at a sermon delivered by Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, on the presence of Christ in the sacrament, Lambert, in a private interview, offered some reasons for his disbelief in the doctrine of the preacher, and these arguments he subsequently digested in the form of a treatise. This tract was first shown to Barnes, a Lutheran, and, as such, a violent persecutor of the sacramentarians, and then was read by Cranmer and Latimer. These two prelates vainly laboured to convince Lambert, for, instead of a retraction, he adopted the fatal resolution of appealing to the king.

This appeal the king was persuaded by Gardiner to accept, and to determine the question in a public and solemn manner. He thought such an opportunity for the display of his theological learning too favourable to be lost, and signified his intention, not only of presiding at the trial, but of conducting some part of the disputation. A day was appointed for this extraordinary proceeding, when there was a large assemblage in Westminster-hall of the bishops and clergy, the nobility, the judges, the king's counsel, and an incredible number of spectators.

When the prisoner was brought to the bar on a charge of heresy, the proceedings were opened by a speech from Dayes, one of the king's counsel, stating that the assembly was not convened to dispute concerning any point of faith, but in order that the king, as supreme head and defender of the church, might, in the presence of his subjects,

convince the prisoner of his errors. Henry then commanded Lambert to declare his opinion on the sacrament of the altar.

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Lambert began his reply with an acknowledgment of the king's benevolent condescension in thus hearing the causes of his subjects, and added many high commendations of his judgment and learning. But Henry with a stern voice interrupted this encomiastic preface, and informed his trembling panegyrist that he came not there to hear his own praises. Lambert was therefore commanded at once to give an answer to the question, "Whether Christ's body was in the sacrament or not?" The prisoner having replied, in the words of Augustin, that his body was there in a certain manner, this was not received as an answer sufficiently explicit, and the question having been again asked, Lambert was under the necessity of giving a direct negative, that it was not the body of Christ.

The king having urged the literal sense of the passage, "this is my body," commanded the archbishop of Canterbury to proceed in the disputation, and to confute Lambert's proposition. Cranmer confined his argument to combating the impossibility of a body being in two places at the same time: this he attempted to show was possible, from the appearance of Christ to Saint Paul; Christ was always in heaven, and yet was seen by Saint Paul in the air. To this argument Lambert objected that Christ was then in heaven, and in heaven alone, and that Saint Paul heard a voice, and saw a vision, but not the very body of Christ. The argument of Cranmer was reconcileable with his

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belief in the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation ; and Gardiner, thinking that he had managed the disputation feebly and unskilfully, interposed in the debate.

The arguments of Tonsal turned upon the omnipotence of God ; that it was not to be limited by any appearance of difficulty ; that human faculties being weak and finite, our notions of impossibilities were proportioned to our faculties. Stokesley by a bold illustration thought at once to terminate the disputation : he showed that in nature one substance is changed into another, and yet the accidents remain. When water is boiled till it evaporates in air, one substance is changed into another ; but the original accident, moisture, remains, air as well as water being moist. This argument was received with plaudits, but whether of approbation or derision is uncertain.

The disputation continued during five hours, and all accounts agree that Lambert was at length silenced, and had nothing more to urge. Without assenting to the interpretation given to his silence, that he was vanquished in argument, the peculiarity of his situation was sufficient to overwhelm him with confusion. The field of disputation was a court of criminal judicature ; whether vanquished or victorious he was obnoxious to the penalties of heresy ; he had a variety of opponents, and at their head the supreme dispenser of the law. The silence and disorder of Lambert occasioned a general acclamation through the hall, and the victory of the king was proclaimed by the shouts of the multitude. While the prisoner was thus silent, the king asked him whether he was convinced, and

whether he chose to live or die? His answer was not that of a foiled disputant awed by the superior skill of his antagonist, but that of a martyr prepared to die for the sake of conscience. He refused to recant, but committed his soul to God, and his body to the clemency of the king. The royal clemency without a recantation could not be expected. Cromwell was commanded to pronounce the sentence of the law against him as an incorrigible heretic, and he was condemned to be burnt: this punishment he endured with remarkable constancy, though his torments were protracted and excruciating*.

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Gardiner, and the advocates of transubstantiation, were careful to improve this victory over Lambert: they flattered Henry with the reputation which he had acquired by the late display of his polemical talents; they reminded him of his youthful achievements in the cause of orthodoxy, and that he had again proved himself worthy of his title of defender of the faith. If Henry were on any side open to flattery, it was on his skill in divinity, and he readily concurred in the advice of his counsellors to summon a parliament. A law might then be enacted for punishing the heretical opinions which were spreading, both on the sacraments, and on the other articles of the Christian faith.

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A parliament was accordingly summoned, and soon after its meeting the lord chancellor informed the house of lords, that the king, being desirous of uniting his subjects in religious opinion, had com-

May 5.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3.

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manded the proposition to be communicated of appointing a committee for drawing up some articles of agreement, which might be reported and taken into consideration by the whole house. To this proposition the lords assented, and nominated Cromwell the vicegerent, the two archbishops, with the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. It was not probable that a committee composed of such discordant elements could agree on any articles, and eleven days were consumed in unprofitable debate. At the expiration of that time, the duke of Norfolk acquainted the house that the committee had made no progress, he therefore undertook to submit to their consideration certain articles in the form of questions. 1. Whether, in the eucharist, Christ's real body was present without any transubstantiation? 2. Whether that sacrament was to be given in both kinds? 3. Whether the vows of chastity made either by men or women ought to be observed by the law of God? 4. Whether by the law of God private masses ought to be celebrated? 5. Whether by the law of God priests might marry? 6. Whether auricular confession was necessary by the law of God?

After these articles had been duly considered by the house, a bill was ordered to be framed in correspondence with the sense of the majority, inflicting penalties on such as offended against its provisions. In the debate which took place on this occasion, Cranmer was pre-eminently distinguished, and on three successive days argued against the introduction of the bill. On the first article he said little, because, so that the corporal presence

was admitted, its framers were contented to leave the manner undetermined; and Crammer, whether his belief on this point were Lutheran or not, was certainly at this period no sacramentarian. On the second he argued affirmatively, both from the words of Christ's institution, and the practice of the church for twelve centuries. Against the third and fourth articles he spoke with great force. The bill for the suppression of the greater monasteries had, in this session, been unfairly impelled through parliament by the strength of the prerogative; and he contended, that it was an act of the greatest cruelty to turn monastics on the wide world, and still to assert that their vows of chastity were binding. The parliament had absolved them from their two other vows of poverty and obedience, and it was extremely unreasonable to absolve from these, while one was still to remain in force of almost impracticable possibility. To assert the necessity of private masses was a condemnation of the king's proceedings, in suppressing so many religious houses founded for that purpose. On that article which concerned the marriage of priests he was deeply interested, for he had taken as his second wife the niece of Osiander, the celebrated German reformer: he showed that the prohibition of marriage to the clergy was founded only on the papal constitutions; and as the authority which enacted these constitutions was abolished in England, it was absurd that the prohibition should continue.

The bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and Saint David's, took the side of the archbishop of Canterbury. On the other side were the archbishop of York, with the bishops of Durham,

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 Carlisle. The temporal peers, with the exception
 of Cromwell, if he could then be called a peer,
 were unanimous against the reforming prelates.

May 30. After a short prorogation the house again met,
 and the lord chancellor announced, that not only
 the spiritual lords, but the king himself, had taken
 great pains to effect an agreement: therefore he
 moved, in the king's name, that a bill might be
 brought in for punishing offenders against the six
 articles lately proposed to the house. The lords
 then ordered two different bills to be prepared:
 one by the direction of the archbishop of Canter-
 bury, the bishops of Ely and Saint David's; an-
 other by the archbishop of York, with the bishops
 of Durham and Winchester. The bill drawn by
 the archbishop of York was preferred, and after
 a long contest was carried through the house.
 When the bill was about to pass, the king desired
 the archbishop of Canterbury to leave the house,
 since he could not give his consent to it; but the
 primate humbly excused himself, since he thought
 his duty obliged him to resist it even in its last
 stage. It was sent down to the house of commons,
 where it was passed without opposition, and soon
 was confirmed by the royal assent*.

June 28. The title of the act was "for abolishing diversity
 of opinions concerning the Christian religion." The
 preamble stated, that the king, considering the
 blessed effects of union and the mischiefs of dis-
 cord, had called a parliament and a convocation at
 the same time. The king himself had come in

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. b. 3.

person to the parliament and council, and “opened many things of high learning and great knowledge;” he had therefore agreed with the two houses on six articles, which were recited at length.

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The enactments were to the following effect: that whoever should write, preach, or dispute against the first article, in which transubstantiation was distinctly asserted, should be adjudged an heretic, and burnt without benefit of abjuration, and his goods should be forfeited; that whoever declared against the other five articles, either by writing or otherwise, should be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. All previous marriages of priests were declared void, and if any priest still cohabited with a woman whom he had formerly married, he was adjudged guilty of felony. Unchastity in any priest was punishable with imprisonment and forfeiture of goods for the first offence, and with death for the second; and the women were liable to the same penalties as the priests. Those who contemned, or wilfully abstained from, confession or the sacraments at the accustomed times, were liable to similar penalties.

For the due execution of the act, commissions were to be issued to all archbishops and bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, and such other persons in every county as the king should name. The commissioners were to hold their sittings quarterly, or oftener, and the process was to be by presentment and a trial by jury. All ecclesiastical incumbents were bound to read the act in their churches four times in a year. A proviso was added concerning vows of chastity; that they should

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not be binding, unless they had been taken at the age of twenty-one years, and had been taken without compulsion*.

This sanguinary act† confirmed the temporary triumph of Gardiner and his party over the friends of the reformation. Though the papal jurisdiction had been abolished, yet the people were now oppressed by a yoke more galling. The monasteries were dissolved, and their wealth dissipated; but the superstitions which were assigned as a reason for their dissolution were established by law. Offences against any particular article were not equally dangerous, only because they were not equally palpable. The denial of the corporal presence was the offence most difficult of conviction, and that of marriage the most easy.

The feeling of the reforming prelates was most strongly expressed by the resignation of Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer bishop of Worcester. The latter, on his return from the parliament house, after resigning his bishopric, threw aside his rochet, and, with that air of gaiety which accompanied his most serious actions and his most painful trials, sprang from the ground, and declared that he had never before felt himself so light‡.

* Stat. 31 Henry VIII. c. 14.

† It was called the six-stringed whip.

‡ Acts and Monuments, by Fox.

CHAPTER VII.

Friendship of Henry towards Cranmer.—Persecution of the Reformers.—Bible reprinted, with a Preface by Cranmer.—Promotion of Boner, and his Co-operation in the Reformation.—Speech of Cromwell to the Parliament, and his Fall.—Office of Ecclesiastical Vicegerent abolished.—Committee for revising the Ceremonies of the Church, and an Account of the Rationale.—Committee for setting forth an Exposition of Christian Doctrine, and an Account of the necessary Doctrine and Erudition.—Last Years of Henry the Eighth.

THE statute of the six articles was a striking proof that the political influence of Cranmer had declined, but his personal estimation with his sovereign suffered no diminution. Remorseless and capricious as Henry was to others, yet to Cranmer he was indulgent and constant. The primate, with no other protection than candour and unsuspecting simplicity, found in the friendship of his master a security against the violence and intrigues of a party at all times formidable, but now armed with the weapons of annoyance. His inflexible resistance against the late statute, so contrary to the natural facility of his temper, commanded the respect even of a despotic monarch. At the prorogation of the parliament, he received a summons from the king, who, having heard of the ability with which he had spoken in the late debate, commanded him to digest his arguments in a treatise. Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk also, by the royal command, repaired to Lambeth, conveying to the archbishop

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It was not probable that the Romanists would suffer the statute to remain unexecuted. Latimer and Shaxton, soon after they had resigned their bishoprics, were presented for having spoken against the six articles, and were committed to prison. The commissioners proceeded with the greatest severity, framing their interrogatories not only on the literal meaning of the statute, but on collateral and presumptive circumstances. In a short time, not less than five hundred persons were imprisoned, charged with a violation of the act: their number was their best protection against its penalties; for even the lord chancellor united with Cromwell and Cranmer in representing the difficulty, as well as the cruelty, of executing the law upon so large a body of delinquents.

Under this calamitous reverse, there was yet one circumstance which prevented the reformers from falling into utter despair, and their enemies from improving their success into a complete victory. At the intercession of Cranmer, the perusal of the scriptures was allowed even to private persons, and letters patent were directed to Cromwell, granting to the people “the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue.” The translation, which, by the care of the primate, had been finished two years before, was now reprinted with an excellent preface written by himself. It contained an address to two different classes of men: the first, such as would not read the scriptures themselves, and laboured to prevent others; the second, such as read the scriptures to no good purpose. To the

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first class he urged, that even custom might be ad-
 duced for reading the Bible in the vulgar tongue,
 and he proved that the custom had not been dis-
 continued more than a century. The fact was in-
 controvertible, that the scriptures had been trans-
 lated into Saxon, and that various copies of this
 translation remained in old abbeys. When the
 Saxon language became obsolete, a translation was
 made in the newer and more common dialect, and
 of this last translation many copies were yet in ex-
 istence. While Cranmer thus refuted by argument
 the enemies of translations, he addressed the other
 class, those who read the scriptures without fruit,
 in some practical observations of great impressive-
 ness. The whole preface is an attestation of the
 useful learning and the unfeigned piety of its
 author, of his ability to convince and to persuade*.

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In the prosecution of his good work, Cranmer
 was encountered by Gardiner, who, in a conference
 held in the presence of the king, maintained that
 the apostolical canons were of equal authority with
 the scriptures. But to the theological opposition
 of Gardiner Cranmer had long been accustomed,
 and he now found support in a quarter where he
 had formerly experienced opposition. Death, which
 impartially dissolves human friendships and enmi-
 ties, had deprived him of the valuable aid of Fox,
 and, within a few months after, had removed his
 dangerous, because reputable antagonist, Stokesley.
 The vacant sees of Hereford and London were
 occupied successively by Boner, who had been dis-
 tinguished as a diplomatist, but not as a divine.
 To the patronage of Cromwell, Boner had been in-

* Strype's Memor. of Cranmer, b. 1. c. 21.

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debted for his introduction into public life, and the apparent correspondence of his religious opinions with those of Cromwell and Cranmer led to his subsequent advancement in the church. From the bishopric of Hereford he was quickly translated to the influential see of London, as being likely to promote the cause of the reformation by his boldness and activity.

During the short interval which elapsed between the promotion of Boner and the fall of Cromwell, these expectations were not disappointed. While bishop of Hereford, he had been sent on an embassy to Paris, and, during his residence there, had been singularly useful in superintending the English impression of the Bible then printing. After his promotion to the see of London, he promptly obeyed the royal injunction of providing Bibles for general use, and in the cathedral of Saint Paul set up six copies, that all persons capable of reading might have free access to the sacred volume. Upon the pillars to which these Bibles were chained was fixed an admonition, that all who came thither to read should lay aside vain glory, hypocrisy, and other corrupt affections, and bring with them dispositions suitable to the edification of their souls, as discretion, benevolence, veneration, and quietness. They were enjoined not to draw multitudes around them, not to make expositions of what they read, nor by reading aloud to interrupt the celebration of divine service, nor to enter into disputes concerning the meaning of any text*.

While the art of printing was yet in its infancy, that of reading was not a common attainment, and

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 1.

it is only by adverting to this circumstance, that an adequate idea can be formed of the sensation caused by such a publication of the scriptures, and by the permission that all ranks might read or hear them. Crowds resorted daily to the cathedral, and such as were able to read distinctly were attended by a large train. Many persons in their old age learned to read, that they might themselves study the word of God; others sent their children to school, and afterwards accompanied them to the church, that they might hear the divine oracles from the lips of their offspring.

The publication of the letters patent, authorizing the free use of the scriptures, was the greatest benefit conferred on religion by the administration of Cromwell, but it was also the last. In the succeeding session of parliament, other measures were proposed by this minister, by which the late statute would have been mitigated in its severity, and by which the reformation would have been advanced. At the opening of the session, the lord chancellor April 12. having briefly stated the motives of the king in calling together his parliament, Cromwell, in his capacity of vicegerent, followed with a long address. He assured the two houses, that the king desired nothing so much as a firm union in religious matters; but the rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate superstition of others, had caused great dissensions, to the sorrow of all good Christians. While some were called papists, others were called heretics; showing a bitterness of spirit the more unaccountable and less to be excused, since the holy scriptures, by the king's care, were in the hands of all, and in a language universally under-

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stood. But notwithstanding this benevolent disposition in the king, the scriptures were perverted, on all sides, by men who studied to gratify their passions, rather than to govern their wills by the divine law. The king leaned neither to the right hand nor to the left, neither to the one nor to the other party, but placed the pure and sincere doctrine of the Christian faith before his eyes; and the same faith he now intended to set before his subjects, without any corrupt admixture. It was also his intention to continue such ceremonies as might tend to the reverend worship of God. Being resolved that Christ, the gospel of Christ, and the truth should have the victory, he had appointed two committees: the one to form a popular exposition of those things which were necessary for the erudition of a Christian man; the other to examine the rites and ceremonies of the church, and to determine which were worthy of being retained, and which were of no use. Such were the pious and benevolent intentions of the king, whose commendations were the theme of Cromwell's peroration. "His due praises," the vicegerent said, "a man of far greater eloquence than myself could not fully set forth*."

Speedily the time approached, when the praises of Henry were to be celebrated by some more fortunate and favoured, though not more able minister. Two days after Cromwell had pronounced this encomium he was created earl of Essex, the male line of the family of Bouchier, who had enjoyed the title, being extinct. Two months had scarcely elapsed, after he had received this signal

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i p. 1.

mark of confidential favour, before he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and committed a prisoner to the Tower.

A. D.
1540.

Hen. VIII.

To discover the real cause of Cromwell's disgrace and ruin, at this distance of time, would be a fruitless research, for probably there was a combination of causes. That which has been commonly assigned was abundantly sufficient: his proposal of an alliance between his sovereign and Anne of Cleves, and the unconquerable antipathy of Henry to the queen whom his minister had selected. The motives which prompted Cromwell to recommend such an alliance were doubtless politic, but at no period of his life was Henry induced to sacrifice his inclinations to political convenience.

As none of Henry's ministers had possessed greater power, so none had more enemies. By the ancient nobility he was despised for the meanness of his extraction and the loftiness of his demeanour: by the clergy he was hated for his assumption and exercise of the ecclesiastical functions. The duke of Norfolk had long harboured against him a rancorous hatred, which, on one occasion, had burst forth in the presence of Cranmer; and the favourable crisis of gratifying his revenge having now arrived, it was not lost: Henry was violently enamoured of Catherine Howard, his niece; and both the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner encouraged a passion which must wean their sovereign from his confidential minister, and eventually change the system of his religious policy.

The fall of Cromwell in many of its circumstances resembled that of his early patron, Wolsey.

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June 14.

He was not only insulted by his enemies, but forsaken by his flatterers and dependants. Cranmer alone, forgetful of personal safety, ventured to plead in his behalf, and to write to the king a letter of remonstrance. He thus reminded their common sovereign of the past services of his unfortunate colleague: "I loved him as a friend, but chiefly for the distinguished regard he always discovered to your highness; but now, if he is a traitor, I am sorry that I misplaced my affection, and took him into any share of confidence. But I am more concerned on another account, for who can your highness trust, if he has deceived you? I am perfectly at a loss in whom you may confide; but shall never cease to beg of God Almighty to send a counsellor in his place, so well qualified for your service, both in abilities and inclination, as I ever thought this person to have been*."

An act of friendship so noble on the part of Cranmer was unavailing in averting the fate of Cromwell. The unhappy minister, abandoned to his own reflections, gave himself up to despair, and, like Wolsey, his mind was completely subdued by the frowns of his prince. After his confinement, he was commanded by the king to write a statement of the part which he had taken in promoting the marriage with Anne of Cleves. This task he executed with his accustomed ability, and exculpated himself from any improper interference in the transaction; but, after offering this justification, he concluded his letter in the following expressions of abject despondence: "The frail flesh

* It was copied by lord Herbert from the original.

inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mine offences; and thus Christ save, protect, and keep you." And immediately after his signature, he added, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy! mercy! mercy*!"

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His enemies were convinced that, if he had a legal trial, there was not sufficient evidence to convict him, and it was therefore resolved to proceed against him by a bill of attainder. The bill hastily passed the house of lords†; in the house of commons some informality retarded its progress; but at length it was finally agreed to by both houses, and received the royal assent. The crimes alleged against him in the act of attainder were various, but his encouragement of heretics, and his invasion of the Christian priesthood, occupied a conspicuous place‡.

June 30.

June 19.

The attainder of Cromwell was almost immediately followed by the king's divorce from Anne of Cleves, and both measures received from parliament the same ready concurrence. A motion was made in the house of lords that an address might be presented to the king, praying that he would suffer the validity of his marriage to be tried. The lords having assented to the motion, and having obtained the concurrence of the commons, a deputation of both houses waited on the king with their united petition. The king, when he assented to it, made a solemn protestation that

July 6.

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3. Appendix, No. 17.

† Cranmer was not present, as appears by the journals.

‡ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 3. Appendix, No. 16.

CHAP. he would conceal nothing relative to the affair,
 VII. and that there was nothing dearer to him than the
 glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and
 the declaration of truth.

July 7. A commission was accordingly issued to the
 convocation, authorizing that body to try the va-
 lidity of the marriage, and the preponderance of
 the Romish party there was evident from the
 activity of Gardiner. The case was opened by
 him, and he was one of the commissioners for the
 examination of witnesses. The pretexts for the
 dissolution of the marriage were, first, an alleged
 precontract between Anne of Cleves and the mar-
 quis of Lorrain; and, secondly, the king's un-
 conquerable antipathy to her, and his refusal to
 consummate the marriage. On these allegations,
 the whole convocation, without a dissentient voice,
 pronounced the marriage null and void, and both
 parties freed from its bond. The sentence was
 signed by both houses of convocation, and the in-
 strument was authenticated by the seals of the two
 archbishops*.

In this measure Cranmer participated, and he
 must consequently share in the disgrace, but he
 can only incur the censure of unwilling acquies-
 cence. The divorce must have been not less ab-
 horrent from his inclinations, than it was repugnant
 to his principles. As president of the convoca-
 tion, it was his duty to report to the house of lords
 the judgment of convocation, but he executed the
 office without offering any comment. The bishop
 of Winchester delivered the sentence in writing,

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. 3.

and afterwards enlarged on the reasons by which it was supported. By a conference with Anne of Cleves, it was ascertained that the divorce was a measure not unacceptable, and an act of parliament formally dissolved a marriage which the previous sentence of convocation had determined to be invalid *.

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Hen. VIII.
July 10

After the parliament had shown this mark of compliance with the king's inclinations, after it had still farther consulted them in altering the existing law on the subject of divorce and pre-contracts †, the king dissolved it. Four days after its dissolution, Cromwell, who had remained a prisoner in the Tower since his arrest, suffered the penalty of treason. No effort was left untried by him for the preservation of his life: he wrote in such moving terms, that Henry caused his letter to be read thrice, and discovered a faint wish to relent; but the fascinations of Catherine Howard, and the arts of her family, overcame the suggestions of clemency, and Cromwell was executed on Tower-hill. At the place of execution, tenderness for his son prevented him from expatiating on the injustice of his sentence. He contented himself with declaring that he was condemned by the law to die, and with offering thanks to God for having brought him to that death on account of his many offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his prince, who had raised him to a high station from a low degree. He denied that he had ever favoured heretical doctrines; he confessed, indeed, that he had been

July 24.

July 28.

* Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 25.

† Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 38.

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seduced, but that he died in the catholic religion, not doubting any article of faith or sacrament of the church. Having desired the surrounding spectators to pray for the king, for the young prince, and for himself, he offered a fervent supplication for the forgiveness of his sins, and for his admission to eternal glory, and, having ended his devotions, submitted himself to the executioner.

Thus fell Cromwell, earl of Essex, a man whose great dexterity in business and practical wisdom had raised him to the highest dignities. With him ceased the office of ecclesiastical vicegerent; an office entirely incompatible with the nature and rights of a Christian priesthood, and entirely distinct from the regal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. It was an office now become ungrateful to the king as well as the clergy, and no one was ambitious of succeeding to a station which had proved so fatal to its first possessor.

The victory of Gardiner and the triumph of doctrinal Romanism were now confirmed, and it was now that Boner, who had hitherto dissembled, assumed his real character. While Cromwell possessed the chief administration of the church, Boner and Gardiner were apparently at enmity; but when Cromwell was no more, there was no obstacle to their avowed coalition. It was the general expectation that Cranmer would be the next victim. Already he had been denounced, in the house of commons, as the promoter of all the heresy that was in England; private insinuations, as well as public charges, were preferred; and nothing but the unshaken friendship of Henry could have preserved him during that short period when

Catherine Howard and the duke of Norfolk had supplanted Cromwell in the royal confidence.

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Hen. VIII.

In the last address which Cromwell made to the parliament as ecclesiastical vicegerent, he announced that the king had appointed two committees; the one for the purpose of framing a popular compendium of the Christian doctrines, and the other for reviewing the rites and ceremonies of divine worship. The committee last named was the earliest in the completion of its labours; and their result was a *Rationale*, or a treatise explaining the meaning, and justifying the continuance, of that ceremonial, which it was thought fit to retain *. There was a new impression of the liturgy, according to the use of the church of Salisbury, an office at this time more generally used than any other. Salisbury was always celebrated for its choral services, and its bishop, in the episcopal college, occupied the dignity of precentor of all England †.

Though the ceremonies prescribed by the *RATIONALE* were multifarious, and exceeding the decent simplicity of Christian worship, yet their significance is ingeniously explained, and, more

* Collier has corrected the error of Burnet, who asserted that no new books for divine service were printed during the reign of Hen. VIII. The title of the *Rationale* is this: "*Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, noviter impressum, et à plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falsò ascriptum omittitur, unà cum aliis, quà Christianissimo nostri Regis statuto repugnant,*" 1541. Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* p. 2. b. 3.

† The committee consisted of the bishops of Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Ely, Chichester, Worcester, and Llandaff. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. b. 3.

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than this, the foundation on which they rest is rightly laid. There is acknowledged to be a wide difference between the commandments and works enjoined in scripture, and ordained by God, and rites and ceremonies ordained by men. The precepts of God are not to be infringed, abolished, or altered; but ceremonies instituted by men may, on reasonable causes, be done away or changed by human authority. Yet when such ceremonies are prescribed for the sake of order and decency, if they be not superstitious, they ought to be reverently observed by the people, not as works necessary for salvation, but as useful means to promote piety. They should be practised in conformity with the admonition of the apostle: "Let all things be done decently, and in order."

As the members of this committee were warmly attached to the splendour of the Romish ritual, the alterations were inconsiderable. The collects in which prayers were offered for the pope, the offices for Thomas Becket and some other saints, were omitted; but so slight was the change which the committee introduced, that in many churches the missals and breviaries already in use were retained.

1542.

The work which the other and larger committee had undertaken, as it required a longer time for its performance from the necessity of the case, was farther delayed by a want of unanimity in its members*. When there was a prospect of a war be-

* The committee consisted of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and Saint David's; with Drs. Thisleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins,

tween England and France, Crammer thought it a favourable crisis of proposing a qualification of the six articles, and of mitigating the rigour of that statute. But as a war between England and France occasioned an alliance with the emperor, Gardiner seized the opportunity of impeding the reformation, and of urging a religious, as well as a political union.

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In the convocation, the translation of the Bible then in use was censured by Gardiner for its barbarisms. He asserted that there were many words in the New Testament almost consecrated by their appropriation, and therefore incapable of being translated. Crammer, foreseeing that a condemnation of the present translation would again render the Bible a sealed book, moved the king that the revisal of the present version should be submitted to the universities. The bishops, not without some indignation, objected that the learning of the universities was of late greatly decayed, and that the two houses of convocation concentrated the theological erudition of the land, and concluded by entering a protestation against the conduct of their metropolitan*.

Gardiner had more success in the next session of parliament. By his instigation, a statute was enacted, grossly misnamed "An act for the advancement of true religion, and abolishment of the contrary†." Its object was stated to be the

1543.
Jan. 22.

and Tresham. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. b. iii.

* The bishops of Ely and Saint David's excepted. Burnet has shown that Fuller has misplaced the date of this transaction.

† Stat. 34 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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prevention of dissensions, by establishing a form of sincere doctrine as taught by the apostles. All the books of the Old and New Testaments in the translation of Tindal were prohibited, and the prefaces and notes of all other translations. No one was permitted to read or expound the Scriptures in any open assembly without a licence from the king or the ordinary. Any nobleman or gentleman might cause the Bible to be read to him in or about his house quietly and without disturbance. Every merchant who was a householder might also read it; but no woman, unless of the higher ranks, no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servants, or husbandmen, were allowed the privilege*.

Preceded by this legal prohibition of reading the Scriptures, the people received from their sovereign the NECESSARY DOCTRINE AND ERUDITION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN; a work whose materials are as heterogeneous as the opinions of those who composed it were discordant; a work which in the present day has occasioned much discussion and dispute, arising from the prejudices of its readers. One party has confidently appealed to it as a criterion of the opinions of the reformers on many important doctrinal points, in opposition to the church from which they had separated; another party has condemned it, in the most unqualified terms, as leaning even in doctrine towards popery rather than protestantism.

* There was a curious proviso, that the lord chancellor in parliament, generals and officers in the field, the judges and recorders, and the speaker of the house of commons, might use the Scriptures as a text, and as they were accustomed.

In contradistinction to the previous work of the Institution of a Christian man, which was called A. D.
1543. the bishop's book, the present formulary was Hen. VIII. called the king's book. It was not, like the former, sanctioned by the authority of convocation, but was composed by a committee originally nominated by the king, and their compositions received the stamp of his personal approbation.

Henry himself had a considerable share in the execution of the work; the chief part was corrected by his own hand; and evidence still remains of the diligence with which he had collected and compared the opinions of his bishops and divines on the different points of discussion. The preface was probably written by himself, and, among other matter, contains a vindication of the late prohibition of the Bible. The Christian church is divided into those who are to teach, and those who are to be taught. The one part, whose office is to instruct others, may and ought to study both the Old and New Testaments; but for the other part, whose duty it is to be taught, the reading of the Scriptures is not absolutely necessary, but may be "tolerated or taken away," as "the prince and policy of the realm shall think convenient*." This liberty the law had lately abridged, esteeming it sufficient for those who are so restrained, to hear and bear away the doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their preachers.

In the plan of the work, it was thought fit that faith should be defined before any exposition was given of the articles of faith. The church of Rome

* Bishop Lloyd's Formularies of Hen. VIII. p. 218.

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had taught that faith consisted in an implicit belief in her own dogmata, or that true Christian faith implied nothing more than submission to the authority of the church. The reformers, on the contrary, maintained that the object of faith is the Holy Scriptures, because they had been revealed by God. But hence a question naturally arose,—what was that saving faith by which man is justified? This could not be a bare assent to the truth of divine revelation, for in that sense the devils believed, therefore the reformers placed it in an assurance of salvation by the death of Christ. They made holiness and all other graces requisites in the composition of faith, though they would not formally make them parts of it. The church of Rome, taking advantage of the incautious language of some reformers, stigmatized them all as Solifidians; the reformers denied the charge. They declared that good works were indispensably necessary to salvation; but here a second question occurred,—what were good works? The church of Rome had maintained, that works which had an immediate honour to God or his saints were more valuable than works done to other men. On the other hand, the reformers taught that justice and mercy, done in obedience to the precepts of God, were the only good works necessary to salvation. The church of Rome held that good works were in themselves meritorious, and that they could purchase the blessings of the kingdom of heaven; the reformers asserted that although good works were necessary, yet the purchase of heaven was only by the death and intercession of Christ. A question was also raised,—whether obedience was

an essential part of faith? The reformers taught that obedience necessarily followed from faith, or was its necessary fruit, but that it was not an essential ingredient*. A. D.
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Hen. VIII.

That these disputes might be satisfactorily adjusted, it was deemed necessary, at the beginning of the Erudition, to give an accurate definition of faith. The difficult and delicate task was assigned by Cranmer to Redmayn, the master of Trinity college in Cambridge. Redmayn was a man whom many protestants were afraid to praise, because he pursued a middle course between them and the Romanists; but he was the most learned and judicious divine of his age, and his Christian virtues commanded the reluctant commendation of his opponents†. He executed the task assigned to him with that solidity and clearness which abundantly justifies his high reputation and the wisdom of Cranmer's choice‡. Faith in the Holy Scriptures has two principal significations; the one, as it is a divine gift, separate from hope and charity, and as such begets a persuasion and belief of the truths both of natural and revealed religion: this faith is but an introduction into the Christian religion, and if it proceed no further is called a dead faith, because it is destitute of the life and efficacy

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. 1. b. iii.

† A man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well-doing, that few poor scholars were in the university which fared not better for his purse. Fox's Acts and Monuments. Life of Latimer.

‡ Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. 1. b. iii.

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of charity. The other faith is that which begets submission to the will of God, and has hope, love, and obedience to the divine precepts joined with it: this is the effectual faith that worketh by charity, and which Saint Paul affirms to be of value and strength in Christ Jesus; this is the faith which every Christian professes and covenants to keep by the sacrament of baptism.

In those parts of the Scripture where it is said that we are justified by faith, it must not be understood as a separate virtue from hope, charity, the fear of God, and repentance, but as united with these qualities, and comprehending obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. As for the definition of faith proposed by some, as including predestination and perseverance, it is not warranted by Scripture. Such a faith could not be known; for although God's promises made in Christ are immutable, yet they are not made to man, but on conditions. Though God never fails in his promises to man, yet such was the frailty of man that he often failed in his performances to God, and thus forfeited all right to the divine promises, which are not made but upon conditions.

After this exposition of faith, the *Erudition* contains a short explanation of the creed, having a paraphrase on each article, with practical inferences. A writer, who was never suspected of an inclination to popery, has candidly acknowledged that it is one of the best practical books extant, and that he never rose from its often repeated perusal without edification*. The style is strong,

* Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, p. 1. b. iii.

nervous, but yet fitted for the meanest capacities. There is nothing in it that is controverted between the papists and the reformers, unless it be that article which relates to the holy catholic church, an article which was probably written by the king himself. The catholic church is defined as comprehending all assemblies of men over the whole world that receive the faith of Christ, who ought to hold an unity of love and brotherly concord. This church is not limited to any one place or region, but is universal wherever it pleaseth God to call people to him in the profession of Christ's name and faith. There is a long digression on the unreasonable pretensions of the Romish church, which resolves catholic unity into a submission to the pope. Neither the whole catholic church, nor a separate catholic church, is bound to acknowledge any other universal governor than Christ. Catholic unity is preserved by the aid of the Holy Spirit, not by the authority of the bishop of Rome.

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From the creed, the Erudition proceeds to an examination of the nature and number of the sacraments. Particular care was observed in collecting the opinions of the committee on this point; and, whatever may be thought of the result, there can be but one sentiment on the fairness with which their conflicting determinations were collected and compared. The whole subject was broken into distinct questions, and they were given to each member of the committee, who was required to return an unbiassed answer. When these answers were returned, two of the body were appointed to compare them, and form an extract of

CHAP. the particulars on which they agreed or differed.
VII. Cranmer and some other divines proposed that the number of the sacraments should be reduced to two, but the majority of the committee decided that the whole number acknowledged by the church of Rome should be retained.

Baptism was explained as in the articles agreed on by the convocation, but the doctrine of original sin was more strongly asserted. This sacrament ought to be administered to infants, because they are born in original sin, and because original sin is remitted and taken away by baptism.

The sacrament of penance is properly the absolution of the priest on such as were truly penitent for their sins; but a caution was added, that penitence alone could not merit or obtain this remission. Man can offer no satisfaction to God for sin, the only satisfaction allowed and accepted by God being the death and sufferings of Jesus Christ.

The sacrament of the altar was described in the Erudition as the "most high and principal sacrament of the New Testament." Transubstantiation was strongly and unequivocally asserted, as also the concomitancy of the blood with the flesh, so that communion in both kinds was not necessary; and, lastly, the utility of hearing the service of the mass without partaking of the communion.

Matrimony was stated to be a sacrament first instituted by God, and then sanctified by Christ. The degrees prohibited by the Levitical law were declared to be of perpetual obligation, and the bond of marriage to be indissoluble.

The sacrament of orders implied a gift or

grace of ministration in Christ's church, given of God to Christian men by the imposition of a bishop's hands. Though the form of laying on of hands ought to be retained, yet there is no certain rule prescribed or limited by the word of God for the nomination, election, presentation, or appointment of ecclesiastical ministers: these things were left to the laws of every community, with the assent of the supreme magistrate. The office of ecclesiastical ministers was to preach, administer the sacraments, to bind and loose, and to pray for the whole flock, yet these duties must be executed under such limitations as were prescribed by the laws. The scripture made express mention of two orders only, priests and deacons, and these were conferred by imposition of the hands of the apostles*. To these orders the primitive church had added some inferior degrees, which were useful in the preservation of discipline, though not of divine institution. By the law of God no bishop was superior to another bishop; any authority of this kind was derived from the consent and ordinance of men; therefore the bishop of Rome could have no authority in England.

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Confirmation was a sacrament used in the primitive church in imitation of the apostles, for they conferred the gifts of the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands: such were not the effects of confirmation of modern times, yet still it was a rite not to be contemned or neglected.

* Burnet has not stated the sense of the Erudition fairly. Two orders, those of priests and deacons, are conferred by a third, namely, apostles.

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Extreme unction was the seventh sacrament, and it was practised and recommended by the apostles themselves. It was originally instituted for the health both of the body and soul. Though the sick person did not always recover, yet remission of sins was its effect. But this sacrament was efficacious only to those who by penance were restored to a state of grace.

In the conclusion of this part of the Erudition, the connexion between the seven sacraments was ingeniously pointed out, and their effects on the true Christian believer were recapitulated.

To the seven sacraments succeeded an explanation of the decalogue, not essentially different from that contained in the Institution of a Christian man. It has been said that Gardiner wished to blend the second commandment with the first, but that Cranmer contended for its insertion at full length: a middle way was therefore adopted; it was placed as a distinct command, but it was abridged. The exposition of the commandments is for the most part unexceptionable.

After the decalogue followed a paraphrase on the Lord's prayer, in the preface of which it is said that the unlearned should be accustomed to say their prayers in their mother tongue, that they may be excited to greater devotion. To this paraphrase was subjoined the Angel's salutation to the blessed Virgin, and the caution given in the former treatise of the Institution is repeated, that the blessed Virgin is not an object of worship.

In the sequel of the Erudition is an article on each of these three doctrinal points,—free-will, jus-

tification, and good works. The article of free-will corresponds with the Augsburg confession*, and teaches that if the will of man were not free, all commandments and threatenings would be vain; yet this will, without the help of the Holy Spirit, is incapable of performing any work of righteousness acceptable to God. The Erudition, as well as the Augsburg confession, appeals to Saint Augustin†, who has declared, “that free-will is in man after his fall, which thing whosoever denieth is not a catholic man.” As Scripture shows, on the one hand, that free-will is still in man, so, on the other hand, it shows that the grace of God is necessary to assist him in the design and the performance of any good action. All men, and chiefly preachers, are therefore to be admonished, that, “in this high matter,” they so “attemper and moderate themselves, that neither they so preach the grace of God, that they take away thereby free-will, nor on the other side so extol free-will, that injury be done to the grace of God.”

Justification is defined to be the making us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of eternal life. God is the chief cause of our justification, yet man, prevented by divine grace, by his free consent and obedience co-operates in the attainment of his own justification. For though it is procured only by the merits of the death of Christ, yet every man must use his endeavours to obtain a personal share in it. A distinction is made between a first and a final justification. All curious reasonings concerning

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* Art. 18. Sylloge confessionum, 2d ed. p. 129.

† Lib. 3. Hypognosticon.

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predestination are to be laid aside; and, according to the plain manner of speaking and teaching in scripture, we ought always to be in dread of our natural frailty, and not assure ourselves of our election in any other way than by feeling spiritual motions in our hearts, and by the tokens of good and virtuous living, and perseverance unto the end. Therefore, as, on the one hand, we are justified freely by the grace of God, so, on the other hand, when it is said that we are justified by faith, it must be such a faith as includes faith, hope, repentance, charity, and a desire to bring forth good works; yet all these gifts come of the free mercy and grace of God, therefore we are properly said to be justified freely.

Good works are declared absolutely necessary to salvation, but by these are meant not merely outward corporal works, but inward spiritual works; nor were they superstitious inventions, nor moral works done by the power of natural reason, but the works of charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, and such works are meritorious towards attaining eternal life. The merit of good works may be reconciled with the freedom of God's mercies, since all our works are done by his grace; so that we have no cause of boasting, but must ascribe all to the grace and goodness of God.

The last chapter of the Erudition relates to prayers for departed souls, and contains the same doctrine with that set forth in the book of articles.

Such was the Erudition, the last formulary set forth in the reign of Henry. From the abstract given of the doctrinal articles, the reader may de-

termine whether they incline to Romanism; for to say, as some have said, that they incline to popery, is an absurdity. If there be any difference in the doctrines of the Erudition, from those asserted in the later and authorized formularies of the English church, the difference, as will be hereafter seen, is merely a difference of terms*.

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From the elevation of Catherine Parr to the dignity of queen consort may be dated the last years of Henry the Eighth. His character was not essentially changed, but he was more susceptible of the blandishments of flattery. His last queen not only prevented the severity of the law from being exercised against the reformers, but prevailed on him to consent to many acts for the encouragement of religion. Yet if he were more accessible to flattery, he was also more open to suspicion, arising from the timidity of impaired health and declining years.

Since the enactment of the statute of the six articles, those who denied the regal supremacy, and those who denied the corporal presence, were indiscriminately executed; but with respect to the vigilance with which the two kinds of offenders

1544.

* A curious argument has been adduced to show what is called the popish tendency of the Erudition, viz. that Boner, in queen Mary's reign, incorporated a considerable part of it into a work published by his authority, in order to promote the re-establishment of popery in his diocess. By parity of reasoning, the homilies of Edward the Sixth are of a popish tendency, for in that very work, Boner also incorporated the homily entitled, "The Misery of all Mankind." The work alluded to is a collection of tracts published by Harpsfield, Boner's chaplain. It is in the Bodleian library.

CHAP.
VII.

were detected, the balance was decidedly against the reformers. But Cranmer at length recovered something of his former influence with his sovereign, and Gardiner proportionably declined in favour. It was then that this sanguinary statute was mitigated, and with the exception of Aune Askew, the condition of the sacramentarians was not that of rigorous persecution.

July 8.

More than an exemption from legal penalties was obtained by Cranmer. When Henry undertook in person his last war against France, before his departure he sanctioned a translation of some prayers and a litany in the English tongue. The preface contained the following advice: "It is very convenient and acceptable to God that you should use private prayer in your mother tongue, that, understanding what you ask of God, you may more earnestly and fervently desire the same, your hearts and minds agreeing with your mouth and words."

1545.

In the beginning of the following year, by the suggestion, as it is presumed, of Cranmer, the king commanded that several superstitious and unwarrantable customs should be abolished. To make this order acceptable, the archbishop suggested that the reason of abolishing such ceremonies should be fully explained to the people, lest tender consciences should be offended. Their obedience would then be given with readiness, whereas otherwise it would be yielded with discontent and murmurs.

The last intended step towards reformation was a revival of the service of the mass; and the king

commanded Cranmer to form a communion service, instead of the old service in the missal *. A
 peace having been concluded between Henry and Francis, while the French ambassador, Annebault, was in London, it has been said that the two monarchs not only themselves agreed to abolish the mass, but to persuade the emperor to do the same. Cranmer began the revisal, but the death of the king prevented its completion †.

A. D.
1546.

Hen. VIII.

June.

The concluding year of Henry's life was distinguished by the disgrace of his old counsellor, the duke of Norfolk; a nobleman who had preserved the second place in the favour of his sovereign by not aspiring to the first. Throughout a long career he had been successful, and few subjects could plead more essential benefits to the state, as a title to the confidence of its supreme head; and in religious opinions he had coincided with Henry. A principled opponent of papal usurpation, he had resisted the legatine authority of Wolsey; an inveterate enemy to the reformed doctrines, he had joined with Gardiner in reducing the influence of Cranmer.

The king, "who never hated nor ruined any one by halves ‡," had cut off the rising hope of the Norfolk family, and the accomplished Surrey had paid the forfeit of his life. This was not sufficient: the ruin of that family was to be completed by the attainder of the father. As his eminent services were forgotten, so his submissions could not avert his doom. A parliament was called, ostensibly for

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. i. c. 30.

† Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii.

‡ Burnet.

CHAP.
VII.

1547.

the coronation of the prince of Wales, but really for the attainder of Norfolk; and on this occasion Crammer acted with a magnanimity suitable to his character. It was a rule of his conduct never to desert a friend, or to insult an enemy in distress; and when the bill of attainder was brought into the house of lords, he retired to Croydon, and refused to participate in a measure so abhorrent from justice: he refused to join in prostrating the well-earned hereditary honours of the house of Norfolk before the insatiable ambition of the family of Seymour.

Jan. 28.

The duke of Norfolk was indebted for the preservation of his life, not to the clemency of his prince, nor to the justice of parliament, but to an act of Providence. Henry died in the night previously to the morning appointed for his execution, and the royal warrant being of no force, it was not thought advisable to sully the new reign of an infant prince with blood.

Of the circumstances which characterized the dying moments of Henry opposite accounts have been transmitted. The papists have insinuated* that he was inclined to a reconciliation with the see of Rome; but the insinuation rests on no foundation, and it is contradicted by the whole of his public conduct. In the last of his parliaments, the king's ecclesiastical authority was asserted in the most comprehensive terms. By a statute then passed† it was declared, that archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have

* Sanders de Schism. Anglic.

† Stat. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 1

no manner of jurisdiction but by, under, and from the king; and that the king is the only undoubted supreme head of the church of England and of Ireland.

A. D.

1547.

Hen. VIII.

Different is the most authentic relation of Henry's last hours*. When the signs of death appeared, sir Anthony Denny alone, of all his attendants, had the courage and honesty to remind him of his end, and the communication was accompanied with an exhortation to prepare for futurity, to remember his former life, and to call upon God for mercy through Jesus Christ. Contrary to expectation, Henry received the intimation with gratitude; and, with expressions of deep contrition for his many sins, placed his hope and confidence in the mercies of Jesus Christ, by which even his sins were exceeded. Having been asked whether any churchman should be summoned, he named Cranmer. The archbishop was then at Croydon, and before he reached the palace the king was speechless. On being desired to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he answered the appeal by a pressure of Cranmer's hand, and expired.

* Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of Edward VI.—Earl of Hertford created Duke of Somerset and Protector.—Coronation of Edward, and Address by Cranmer.—The Lord Chancellor removed.—Somerset holds the Protectorate by Letters-Patent.—Prelates favourable to the Reformation.—Character of Ridley.—Royal Visitation.—First Book of Homilies.—Erasmus's Paraphrase.—Gardiner's Opposition.—Proceedings in Parliament and in Convocation.—New Communion Office.—Gardiner sent to the Tower.—First Catechism of Edward VI.—First Service Book.

CHAP.
VIII.

1537.
Oct. 12.

By an act of parliament passed in the latter part of his reign*, Henry was empowered to bequeath the crown to his children by either of his different queens, with such limitations as he should think fit; and the first whom he named in the succession was the rightful heir, Edward, his only son, by Jane Seymour. The young prince had lost his mother on the day after he was born, and within a year after her own marriage. Her death could not be called untimely, for she lived not long enough to experience the inconstancy of Henry's affection, and as she left a male heir to the crown, her memory was endeared, both to the king and the English people.

At the age of six years Edward had been committed to the care of two men, the propriety of whose selection is fully vindicated by their claims

* Stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

on the respect of posterity. Cheke is a name at this day familiar to the lovers of the Greek language; and Cox, though less generally known, will be gratefully remembered for his important services to the exiled church of England during the Marian persecution.

A. D.
1547.
Edw. VI.

By those who are fond of collecting examples of short-lived precocity, the native graces and the surprising acquisitions of prince Edward have been celebrated with warmth, but not with exaggeration. If his attainments were not so vast or so varied as those of the admirable Crichton, it should be remembered that Edward completed only half the scanty measure even of Crichton's days, and that the exploits of Edward have no affinity, like those of Crichton, to the prodigies of poetry and romance. They rest too on unsuspecting testimony, not on the partial and fulsome praise of Hooper, but on the disinterested relation of Cardan *, which is declared by himself to be not beyond but below the truth.

While his father lived, Edward, though enjoying the title of prince of Wales, was not legally possessed of that dignity; and one of the last acts which Henry meditated, but never fulfilled, was to confer on the heir apparent the due and accustomed honours. But so indisputable were the claims of Edward to the vacant throne, that he was proclaimed even before the will of his father was opened. It was then found that sixteen persons had been nominated as executors of the will,

* Non hæc rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora. Cardan. l. xii. de Genituris.

CHAP.
VIII.

and as governors of the prince until he attained the age of eighteen; and besides the executors the late king had nominated a privy council to assist in the management of public affairs.

When the executors first met, it naturally occurred that, to facilitate business, one of their number should be called on to preside, but that such a priority in rank should be unaccompanied with any superiority in power. The proposition, after having been ineffectually opposed by the lord chancellor Wriothesley, received the assent of the other executors; and the earl of Hertford, uncle of the king, was declared protector of the realm, and governor of the royal person. His elevation was conferred under a stipulation that he should not perform any act without the advice and consent of the other executors.

Such was the result of the first meeting, and
February 2. at the second, the executors took an oath for the faithful observance of the will. The privy counsellors were then required to notify the choice of the protector to the young king, and despatches were sent to the foreign powers; the temporal peers and the bishops near the court were commanded to swear allegiance, and the bishops, in addition to their oath, were required to take out a new commission for the exercise of their ecclesiastical authority. By this act, the bishops acknowledged that they held their sees at the king's pleasure, and were delegated in his name.

Before the coronation took place, the earl of Hertford had been elevated in the peerage to the dukedom of Somerset. He obtained this title in consequence of a clause in the will of the late king,

requiring the executors to fulfil all his promises of whatever Kind, and of evidence being adduced to show that he intended to bestow a dukedom on the earl of Hertford. The duke was also appointed lord treasurer and earl marshal, these places having been designed for him by the late king on the attainder of the duke of Norfolk.

A. D.
1547.
Edw. VI.

After the settlement of some preliminary forms, and the funeral of the deceased king, the coronation was performed with solemnity, though not with splendour. Edward was the first protestant king, and it was thought right that many ancient forms, prescribed by the popish ritual, should be changed or abolished. To the archbishop of Canterbury it belonged, by virtue of his office, to direct the ceremonial, and to officiate at the coronation. On account of the tender age of the king, as well as of the alteration in the religious polity of the kingdom, the ceremonies were few, but they were highly impressive. The customary sermon was omitted, but the deficiency was abundantly supplied by an excellent address from the archbishop himself*. In this address the primate showed that, while he forgot not the high estate of the sovereign, he remembered the tender age of the child; that he remembered also his own sacred station, and the solemn pledge which he had given at the baptism of the young prince. Having reminded the assembly of the solemn rites of consecration, that they were useful admonitions to remind kings of their duty to God and to their

Feb. 29.

* Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, b. ii. c. 5. The speech was preserved among the inestimable collections of archbishop Usher.

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VIII.

people, he thus emphatically described to the prince the ends of the kingly office : “ You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms.” While he thus pointed out the duties of a chief magistrate, he was anxious to disclaim the power usurped by the popes of deposing kings for misgovernment. “ Being bound by my function to lay these things before your royal highness, the one as a reward if you fulfil, the other as a judgment of God if you neglect, them ; yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before the nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your royal highness deprived, if you miss in part or in the whole of these performances, much less to draw up indentures between God and your majesty, or to say that you forfeit your crown, with a clause for the bishop of Rome, as had been done by your majesty’s predecessors, king John and his son Henry, of this land.” The archbishop concluded his address with this pious benediction : “ The Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his countenance shine upon your majesty, grant you a prosperous, happy reign, defend you and save you, and let your subjects say Amen.”

The first measure of importance after the coronation was the removal of the lord chancellor from his office. He had affixed the great seal to a commission, authorizing the master of the rolls and three masters in chancery to hear and decide causes in his absence, since he intended to withdraw himself from his court, and to apply himself entirely to affairs of state. Not only the com-

mission itself, but the persons nominated as commissioners were highly offensive to the common lawyers; the judges themselves determined that the commission was illegal, and that, by affixing the great seal without any warrant from the privy council, the lord chancellor had forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment, at the king's pleasure. The privy council assumed the right of dismissing him from his office, but they ventured not to erase his name from the list of executors. His colleagues secured his absence by the fear of legal penalties, but they did not formally exclude him from the trust.

A. D.
1547.

Edw. VI.

March 6.

No sooner was his rival, the lord chancellor, dismissed, than Somerset perceived that every obstacle was removed from the attainment of his ambitious views. He boldly resolved to hold his office of protector by a tenure more secure than the revocable consent of the other executors, and prevailed on his colleagues, too easily for their reputation, to petition the king, that, by letters patent, he might be constituted governor of the royal person, and protector of the kingdom. As he now held his office by a different tenure, its powers were enlarged. The other executors were mingled with the rest of the privy council; the protector was authorized to add to their number as many as he thought fit; and the whole body was restrained from acting without his advice and concurrence. Such a change in the administration of the government was no doubt an infringement of the will of king Henry, and, as that will was made under the authority of an act of parliament, it was a violation of the law. The only, but unsatisfactory, justifica-

March 13.

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VIII.

tion of the measure was, that it was adopted by the consent of the majority of executors, and that the powers vested in them they were competent to transfer as well as to resign.

The elevation of Somerset was at first highly gratifying to the reformers, in whose favour he had openly declared, and his advancement to the protectorate was on that account promoted by Cranmer. The archbishop, unfit for political affairs, directed his attention solely to the duties of his function; his aim was reformation, and he thought that he had the supreme authority to animate, approve, and aid his labours. The king, he was convinced, would receive a protestant education; for not only Somerset, the king's governor, but Cheke and Cox also, the royal preceptors, were careful to impress on their distinguished pupil sound principles of religion, and to turn away his mind from the superstitions of the Romish church.

In the conclusion of the preceding reign several prelates had been promoted who were favourable to the reformation; Holgate occupied the second station in the church, in the room of Lee, a bigoted papist; Heath, a man of moderation, had succeeded Latimer in the see of Worcester; and, above all, Ridley was advanced, in the beginning of this reign, to the bishopric of Rochester. Among those who are styled the fathers of the English reformation, Ridley held the first place in the estimation of its adversaries, and in forming this judgment they displayed a candour and a discrimination not always found among its friends. His conversion from the errors of the church of Rome had been the result of laborious inquiry and honest

conviction, and it was not debased by any rancour towards those opinions which he had conscientiously renounced. But great must be the presumption of the historian who would represent the sentiments of Ridley in any other than his own language: "The cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion is not any study of vain glory or singularity, but of conscience, of my bounden duty towards God, and towards Christ's church, and the salvation of mine own soul; for the which, by God's grace, I will willingly jeopard here to lose life, lands, and goods, name and fame, and what else is, or can be, unto me pleasant in this world."

A. D.
1547.

Edw. VI.

Educated in a college, of which he was afterwards promoted to the government, Ridley was by habit a disciplinarian. Inured by education to scholastic disputation, he knew the strong and weak points in the controversy between the Romish and reformed churches. Far from wishing to multiply the causes of division, he traced all minor differences to their right source, or passed them over as questions on which men might differ, and agree to differ. In his estimation the two great errors of the church of Rome were the idolatrous use of the Lord's supper, and the usurped authority of the pope. To him the church of England is indebted for a reformation in that most important doctrinal point, transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass; to him she is principally indebted for her apostolical form of church government; and he must ever be regarded as the pillar of protestant episcopacy.

Ridley must now be considered as the chief ad-

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VIII.

viser of Cranmer, though not responsible for Cranmer's personal timidity and irresolution. Like Cranmer, he was resolved to carry on the reformation by gradual and cautious advances; for both were convinced, by the conduct of foreign reformers, of the necessity of moderation.

It was their first care to institute a royal visitation after the method proposed in the last reign, and to supply the visitors with proper rules and injunctions. The diocesses of England were divided into six circuits or precincts, and, with a slight variation, two gentlemen, a civilian and a divine, assisted by a registrar, were assigned to every circuit. A proclamation was issued, inhibiting the archbishops and bishops from exercising any jurisdiction while the visitation continued.

May.

As the minds of the people had been disturbed by controversies in the pulpit, it was thought necessary to fix some restrictions on preaching. Even the bishops were not allowed to preach, except in their own cathedrals, and the inferior clergy were confined to their churches, unless they had a special licence from the king.

Two preliminary measures were requisite, in order to render the visitation useful or effective. One was to compose homilies for the instruction of the people, now left to ignorance, or led into error; the other was to select some eminent preachers, who might accompany the visitors in their progress. A committee of divines was appointed for the composition of the homilies, and twelve, on some of the most important points of Christian faith and duty, were completed. Their object

was to state, in a plain and practical manner, the terms of salvation, according to the gospel, because its professors were divided into two dangerous extremes: the one rested entirely on the merit of good works, undervaluing the merits and the sacrifice of Christ; the other relied exclusively on the merits of Christ, so as to deny the necessity of good works. In the homilies both these extremes were avoided: on the one hand, the salvation of mankind was ascribed wholly to the death and sufferings of Christ, which alone were efficacious in obtaining the pardon of sin; on the other hand, it was inculcated that there was no salvation through Christ, but to such as repented, and sincerely endeavoured to frame their lives according to the laws of his gospel*.

A. D.

1547.

Edw. VI.

In order that the New Testament might be better understood, the paraphrase of Erasmus was translated into English, and a copy was enjoined to be deposited in every parish church. The articles and injunctions by which the visitors regulated their inquiries were the same with those of the last reign during the vicegerency of Cromwell. To these some others, suitable to the advanced state of the reformation, were added: that all images and monuments of idolatry should be

* These homilies were the work of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hopkins, and Becon, one of Cranmer's chaplains. There is little but internal evidence by which the author of any particular homily can be ascertained. The homily "Of the Salvation of Mankind," being the third, as they are now placed, was ascribed by Gardiner to Cranmer; and Cranmer never denied that it was his. The eleventh, in three parts, is by Becon; and it is printed among his works, published by himself, in three volumes folio. It is in the second volume.

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VIII.

removed; that processions should be discontinued; that the litany formerly used in these processions should be recited in the choir; that the epistle and gospel should be read in English at high mass, and that the homilies lately set forth by authority should be publicly read. These, and some other injunctions, were to be observed by the clergy under the penalties of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, according to the enormity of the case *.

August.

Furnished with these injunctions, the visitors began their respective circuits about the same time that the protector went into Scotland to carry on the war there in person. He returned crowned with success, and prepared to meet the parliament, for which writs had been issued before his departure. During his absence the visitors had punctually fulfilled their duty, and their injunctions had generally received due obedience. Boner and Gardiner were the only prelates who ventured to resist. Although Boner was soon brought to submission, yet as the retractation of his protest, though complete,

Sept. 5.

was ungracious, he was sent to the Fleet prison, and remained in confinement more than two months. When the homilies were shown to Gardiner, he expressed his disapprobation in no measured terms, and inveighed against the injunctions as being contrary to the law of God. His objections were accompanied with a solemn protestation against the authority of the visitors, which he boldly delivered before the privy council, and having peremptorily refused to obey the injunctions, or to

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. b. 4.

set forth the homilies, he was committed to the same prison with Boner.

A. D.
1547.

Edw. VI.
Sept. 25.

In several letters to the protector, as well as in a conference with Cranmer, Gardiner justified his opposition. The homily "On the Salvation of Mankind" appears to have been the composition of Cranmer; and this homily was the object of Gardiner's particular reprehension. He complained that it excluded charity from the office of justification; a doctrine as well repugnant to Scripture* as contrary to a book published in the last reign by authority, "The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man;" whereas, in truth, the discordance between the homilies and the Erudition is apparent rather than essential. The homily on salvation asserts that faith alone is necessary to justification, yet that faith does "not shut out† repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God," since these qualities are to be "joined with faith in every man that is justified." Though they are excluded from the office of justification, yet they are component parts of justifying faith. The Erudition says the same thing; and Cranmer might have found a better answer‡ than a concession that a book set forth by royal authority, and with his own concurrence, was heterodox, and that king Henry "was seduced."

If Gardiner failed to show any material differ-

* Galat. ch. v. ver. 6. James, ch. ii. ver. 17.

† Some copies read "exclude."

‡ Gardiner mentions the following syllogism of Cranmer, to prove that faith alone justifies: We are justified by faith without the works of the law; charity is a work of the law; therefore we are justified without charity. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. b. iv.

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VIII.

ence between the homilies and the Erudition, he pursued his argument with triumphant success on the opposition between the book of homilies, and its unsuitable associate, the paraphrase of Erasmus. He contended that there were many serious errors in the original, for which Erasmus alone must answer; but that the work was rendered still more pernicious by a faulty and garbled translation. The translator had erred, partly from ignorance, and partly from design, and was alike ignorant of the Latin and English languages. Gardiner reminded the protector that, when summoned before the privy council, he had offered to dispute on the question of justification, at Oxford, or to enter into a conference at London. He also urged that, if the privy council assumed an authority above that of parliament, the constitution was subverted, and the act which discharges the subject from obedience to the see of Rome might be overruled by the board. The king, when of age, would expect the same extent of prerogative as was exercised by the council in his minority, and a precedent of this kind might be pleaded for oppression, and for the establishment of an arbitrary government, which was unsuitable to the temper of the English nation.

The return of the protector from Scotland was followed by the meeting of parliament, which was continued by prorogation from session to session till the last year of the reign. Its first concern
November. was to repeal all penal laws against religion, among which were included the statutes against Lollards, and the statute of the six articles*. But all persons who denied the supremacy of the king, or main-

* Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

tained the supremacy of the pope, were liable, for the third offence, to the penalties of high treason. A.D.
1547.

The second statute concerning religion was a penal law against speaking irreverently of the holy sacrament *. Edw. VI. An intemperate zeal against popery had carried some to an excess of profaneness: from one extreme of adoration of the elements, they had proceeded to the other of contempt for the ordinance itself. The evil was too strong to be repressed by ecclesiastical censures, and it was therefore necessary to call in the assistance of the civil legislature. Fine and imprisonment were to be inflicted on all who should in future despise or depreciate this holy institution. It being more agreeable to the sense of Scripture, and the practice of the primitive church, that the sacrament should be received by the people in both kinds, a clause in the statute provided that, in future, the communion should be ministered to all Christian people, within the king's dominions, under both kinds, of bread and wine. It was also declared to be more consonant to Scripture for the people to communicate with the priest, than for the priest to receive the sacrament alone. Private masses were to be discontinued. But the statute concluded, that the restoration of the ancient practice of administering the sacrament in the church of England should not be interpreted as a condemnation of the usage of any church out of his majesty's dominions.

A third statute effected a change in the manner of electing bishops, and transferred the election

* Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 1.

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VIII.

from the deans and chapters entirely to the crown.

The statute set forth, that the accustomed mode of election was tedious and expensive, and that it was only a shadow of election; and therefore, in future, bishops were to be created by letters-patent, by authority of which their consecration was to take place. By another clause it was enacted that, whereas, in the times of popery, the bishops exercised their authority in their own names, they should in future carry on all ecclesiastical processes in the name of the king, from whom all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived. The archbishop of Canterbury alone was permitted to use his own name and seal for faculties and dispensations; and the collations, presentations, and letters of orders of bishops, were excepted from the general enactment of the statute.

The elevation of Somerset to the protectorate had at first raised the hopes of the reformers; but his subsequent conduct proved that he promoted the reformation in subserviency to private interest. One great object of his administration was to secularize that portion of the monastic and collegiate property which had escaped the rapacity of Cromwell, and in the first session of the parliament, he introduced a bill for giving all chantries to the king.

December.

The bill was resisted in the house of lords, both by the reforming and the Romish prelates, and Cranmer opposed it in a speech of great length. After having depicted the impoverished state of the clergy by the sale of the appropriated tithes, which, instead of being divided among the laity,

* Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

ought in justice to have been restored to the church, he insisted that the present measure at least ought to be delayed until the king arrived at full age. By this necessary delay the reason assigned for the dissolution of the chantries was more likely to be answered; their estates would then be applied to the improvement of the royal revenues; but, during the king's minority, their property would be alienated and wasted; and if the measure were deferred, he was convinced that the piety of the young prince would lead him to bestow their revenues on the parochial clergy.

A. D.
1547.

Edw. VI.

These arguments of the primate were seconded by the Romish prelates; for these chantries contributed to support their favourite doctrines of purgatory and masses for the dead. But the private interests of the protector and his dependants carried the bill through the house, notwithstanding the opposition of the archbishop and seven other bishops*.

In the house of commons, the opposition was equally strong, and, as it proceeded not from religious motives, was in part successful. Some of the burgesses represented, that the boroughs for which they served could not support their churches and other public institutions, if the revenues of the chantries were given to the king. The burgesses of Lynn and Coventry distinguished themselves on this occasion, and their arguments had due weight on the house. The assent of the commons could not be obtained without a private assurance that

* The opposing prelates were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester.

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the guild lands, and other property of corporate bodies, should be restored, though guild lands as well as chantries were included in the statute. There was also a provision in the statute, that the revenues of the dissolved chantries should be converted to the maintenance of grammar schools and the increase of vicarages '.

While the parliament continued its session, the convocation was diligently employed in the exercise of its deliberative functions. The archbishop, in his address, had exhorted the assembly to adhere to the rule of Scripture, to advance the reformation, and to abolish the remains of superstition; and, in order to prevent any restraint on the freedom of their debates, he had succeeded in obtaining a parliamentary repeal of the statute of the six articles. In correspondence with the recommendation of the archbishop, the lower house unanimously agreed that the communion should be administered in both kinds, and they resolved to submit a petition to the prelates through their prolocutor. The petition contained four articles: first, that, in obedience to a statute of the late king, the ecclesiastical laws might be reviewed; secondly, that, according to the ancient custom of the realm, the inferior clergy might be admitted to sit in parliament with the house of commons, or that no acts concerning religion might pass without their assent; thirdly, that, according to the intention of the late king, the church service might be reformed; and lastly, that some consideration might be taken of the destitute condition of the clergy, and of the rigour of the statutes on tenths and first-fruits.

* Stat. 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.

The first article of the petition was received with attention; for the reformation of the ecclesiastical law was resumed, although the progress was slow: the second related to a matter which has been variously interpreted, but of which the true solution seems to be, that the clergy were anciently a part of the house of commons, but that their parliamentary privileges had been lost; partly through their own neglect; and that, since the submission of the clergy in the last reign, the commons had shown an improper interference in matters purely spiritual. The third article was granted, and a revisal of the liturgy was begun; but the fourth article appears to have been neglected or forgotten.

A. D.
1547.

Edw. VI.

Soon after the session of parliament was ended, Gardiner, who had remained in confinement more than three months, was brought before the council. He had addressed many letters to the protector, remonstrating against the unjust restraint on his liberty; that he had received his writ of summons to the parliament, but was prevented from giving his attendance; and that such an illegal restraint on the personal freedom of one of its members might be a ground of questioning the validity of its acts. But all his complaints and remonstrances were disregarded till the parliament had risen, when, by the general act of pardon, passed at the conclusion of the session, he was entitled to his discharge. He was dismissed with a grave admonition to obey the laws and injunctions, and he immediately departed to his diocese.

1548.
January 8.

In order that the reformation might be carried on with a proper deference to authority, a pro-

February 6.

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clamation was issued against all persons who made religious innovations, or who persuaded the people to neglect their ancient and accustomed rites. Such innovators were to be punished by imprisonment and other penalties. To prevent the mischiefs occasioned by rash and intemperate preachers, none were to preach without a licence from the king and his visitors, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese, except incumbents preaching within their own parishes. Such as transgressed were to suffer imprisonment until a farther order was made for their punishment, and the magistrates were required to see that the proclamation was observed. It was intimated that, by placing this restraint on the sacred office, the council only intended to repress the rash contentions of indiscreet men, and not to extinguish the lively preaching of the pure word of God. Those who obtained a licence were charged to preach sincerely, and with that caution and moderation which the time and place required; and were admonished not to excite the people to outrun their spiritual guides, whom they ought to follow, but to wait patiently till they had received instructions from their superiors*.

In the mean time the committee of bishops and divines† appointed to reform the offices of the

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. ii. b. 1. App. No. 23.

† The committee consisted of the two archbishops, and the bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, Saint Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry, Carlisle, Bristol, Saint David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester, with doctors Cox, May, Taylor, Haynes, Robertson, and Redmayn. Burnet is of opinion that the committee was

church was actively engaged, and the first office which passed under its examination was the sacrament of the eucharist. This was justly esteemed the chief symbol of Christian communion, and was therefore worthy of the first care. The proceedings of the committee were conducted with the same fairness and caution as in the last reign. The subject matter was divided into distinct questions, to which the answer of each individual was required*, and there was a greater unanimity among the committee than might have been supposed. That the sacrament of the altar was originally instituted, to be received of every man for himself, was agreed by all; but it was the opinion of some that the receiving of one man for another was profitable, as the health of one member conduced to the soundness of the whole body†. There was a great diversity of opinion on the question, What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass? The reformers however agreed in sentiment, varied in expression, and the Romanists with one consent maintained that it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ being really present in the sacrament. As it was universally agreed that the sacrament of the altar was instituted for every man to receive for himself, it was required to fix the period when the change was introduced for the priest alone to re-

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appointed only to draw up a communion office. Heylin thinks that it was originally appointed to review and reform the whole liturgy. &

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii b. 1. App. No. 25. The document was preserved among the MSS. of bishop Stillingfleet.

† Answer of Tonsal, bishop of Durham.

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ceive it. The reformers placed the innovation in the middle of the seventh century, without assigning any reason for the change: the Romanists, without ascertaining the period of the change, ascribed it to the decay of devotion of the people. It was generally agreed that the primitive usage should be restored, but with this reservation, on the part of the Romanists, that, if the people could not be brought to communicate, the priest might receive alone. It was thought expedient by the reformers to abolish satisfactory masses; but the Romanists contended that they were not contrary to the word of God, and that it was lawful to receive money for saying them. It was agreed by all that a sermon at the time of the mass was edifying, though all were not agreed in its necessity; but the two parties were divided on that important question of praying in a language which was understood by the people.

Divided as the committee was on the questions proposed for its consideration, the wise and conciliatory resolution was adopted of retaining the chief part of the service of the mass, but of making such additions as would convert it into a form of communion. The new office* opened with an exhortation to be used on the preceding Sunday or holyday, and it contained a caution applicable to two different classes of Christians. Such as desired to make auricular confession to a priest were not to censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to Almighty God; and those who were contented with a general confession were not to

* The office is in bishop Sparrow's collections.

be offended with those who scrupulously adhered to the practice of auricular confession.

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At the time of celebration, the priest having himself received the sacrament, was directed to turn to the people, and read a suitable exhortation*. To this succeeded a solemn denunciation against impenitent sinners, requiring them to withdraw. After a short pause, designed to allow the impenitent to retire, an admonition was addressed to the sincerely penitent, encouraging them to draw near. A general confession was then made, in the form still retained, and the absolution was preceded by an introduction, now omitted, asserting the power of the church to absolve penitent sinners. The communion was directed to be received in both kinds, and there was to be no elevation.

The office, being finished, was introduced to the public by a proclamation, stating that, as an act of parliament had commanded the communion to be received in both kinds, it was now to be administered according to a prescribed form. All Christians were required to communicate with due reverence, and with such uniformity as might induce the king to go on with a reformation. This was his sincere intention, and he warned his subjects against precipitance, trusting that they would respectfully and patiently wait till his designs were matured.

The new communion office was received with general approbation; but the conduct of Gardiner was again the occasion of complaint and censure. He had raised contentions in his diocese by pub-

* The same which is still retained.

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licly insulting the preachers sent thither by the council, and had seized every opportunity of animadverting on the recent alterations. Having been frequently admonished to conform, he at length obtained permission to exculpate himself from all disaffection, in a sermon to be preached before the king. In this discourse, which was delivered before an immense audience, he had almost succeeded in raising a tumult, by his severe reflections on political as well as religious matters. He chose the festival of Saint Peter for this public exhibition, because the gospel of the day was suited to his purpose. Many cautions had been suggested to him by the protector and the secretary Cecil, concerning the topics of his sermon; but these he neglected, and he was equally careless of abstaining from subjects likely to give offence, as of discussing those requisite to be enforced. On some points he expressed himself well: he fully approved the abolition of the papal jurisdiction, and also justified the dissolution of monasteries and chantries; he thought that images might be retained without offence, but he also thought that their removal might be attended with advantage; he approved of the administration of the communion in both kinds, and the discontinuance of satisfactory masses; and he spoke in terms of commendation respecting the new office of communion. Thus far he conformed himself to the regulations prescribed to him; but when he began to assert the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, the audience became impatient and tumultuous; some loudly approving, and others with equal warmth condemning his doctrine. On two

points of great moment, which he had been required to inculcate, he was entirely silent, those of the king's authority while under age, and the power of the council during his minority. Any omission on the first of these points Gardiner imputed to forgetfulness in himself, or rather to want of attention in his hearers, since, in a private conference with Cecil, he had said that the king was as much a king at one year old as at a hundred. On the second point, the power of the council, he candidly acknowledged that he had said nothing, because he had no warrant in the Scriptures.

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The delivery of this sermon decided Gardiner's present fate; he was commanded by the council to remain in London, and soon afterwards, having refused to give a satisfactory explanation of his conduct on some late occasions, was committed a prisoner to the Tower. His books and papers were seized, and his property was sequestered.

Gardiner being now removed from all interference in matters of church and state, there was no impediment to the progress of the reformation. The next formulary published for general use was a catechism, or a treatise of instruction for young persons in the grounds of the Christian religion. It was written originally in the German language, for the use of the youth in Nuremburg, was translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, whom Cranmer retained under his roof, and was translated into English either by the archbishop himself or under his special direction*. This treatise was not in a

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 5.

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catechetical form, but contained a perspicuous exposition of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the commandments, and the sacraments. In this catechism, the two first commandments are consolidated, yet with an acknowledgment that they were anciently divided; but the use of images is strongly censured, as leading to the imputation, if not to the practice, of idolatry. Besides the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, a third is asserted, the power of reconciling sinners to God. The divine institution of bishops and priests is fully recognised, and the necessity of reviving the primitive discipline is strongly enforced.

The catechism was published, with a dedication by Cranmer to the king. In his prefatory epistle, the archbishop complained of the great neglect of catechising which had formerly prevailed, and also stated that the rite of confirmation had been improperly administered. None were fit to receive it, but such as had been well instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, and who with knowledge as well as with sincerity were qualified to renew their baptismal vow.

The catechism was preparatory to a greater work, which Cranmer had long meditated, and which was now undertaken on the recommendation of the king and council. The committee of bishops and divines, already employed in forming the communion office, were commanded to attend the king, and were informed of the nature and extent of the proposed undertaking. This was to compose a LITURGY, comprehending an order for morning and evening service, together with a form

of administering the sacraments, and of celebrating all other divine offices*.

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It appears that all the members of the committee employed in the office of communion were not retained in the reformation of the entire liturgy, for the number was reduced to twelve, exclusively of the primate†. Many of the committee were scrupulously attached to the ritual of the Romish church; and if these interfered at all in the prosecution of the work, they exerted their interference in retaining some ceremonies and devotional forms which their coadjutors would have rejected. In three of his associates, however, Ridley, Cox, and Taylor, the archbishop found both ability and zeal to animate and assist his labours.

The great aim of the English reformers was not to destroy, but to improve; not to depreciate the wisdom and piety of the primitive ages of Christianity, but to rescue both, from the superstitious corruptions of later times: their intention was not to compose a new liturgy, but to compare the ancient liturgies, to select from each the most pure and edifying parts, and to incorporate them into a whole. The English prayer book was not

* Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation.

† The committee consisted of the archbishop of Canterbury; Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Holbech, bishop of Lincoln; Day, bishop of Chichester; Skip, bishop of Hereford; Thirlby, bishop of Westminster; Ridley, bishop of Rochester; May, dean of Saint Paul's; Taylor, dean, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln; Haynes, dean of Exeter; Redmayn, master of Trinity college, Cambridge; and Robertson, archdeacon of Leicester.—Wheatley on the Common Prayer.

CHAP. taken out of the mass, but the mass was thrust out
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As a necessary preparation for their intended work, they diligently collected the different liturgies used throughout England, of which there was no small variety. In the south of England, the use of Sarum was generally followed; in the north, the offices were modelled according to the practice of the metropolitan church of the province, York; while the cathedral of Lincoln prescribed the rule for the middle diocesses. In South Wales, the customs of Saint David's were followed, and in North Wales those of Hereford or Bangor. There were few diocesses which had not peculiarities in their ritual; since any prelate, famed for sanctity of life or for miraculous works, was not only canonized, but imitated in his forms of devotion: the collects and hymns which he had composed or used were retained after his death in his own cathedral. Every religious order had also its peculiar rites, and its peculiar holydays. The administration of the public offices was an art not to be learned without long study, and it constituted the chief learning of the priesthood. The superstitious customs prescribed by these offices were of an infinite variety, and they frequently resembled the rites of paganism. All the materials of divine worship were not only consecrated by a particular form of words, but were supposed, after consecration, to possess an inherent sanctity.

Such abuses the reformers sought to remove by

* Bishop Hall.

removing the cause. The substitution of the English for the Latin language in the reformed liturgy was the best guard against the introduction of superstitious practices, or the preservation of those which were already in use. The Romish missals and breviaries abounded with ridiculous legends, disguised under a language not generally understood, and to translate them into English must effectually expose their absurdity or falsehood.

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The priesthood of the Romish church performed divine offices in habits appropriated to their sacred function, and venerable on account of their antiquity; but, as they had been abused to superstitious purposes, it was a matter of grave debate whether or not they should be retained. It was plausibly objected, that these habits constituted a part of the system of popery, and ought to be abolished with that idolatrous religion, and that the people supposed them to possess an innate holiness. But to this objection it was answered, that the abuse of these habits was not a valid argument against their use; since, by parity of reasoning, the objection might be applied to the use of churches, for these had been superstitiously abused. The use of the habits could be traced as far back as the fourth century, long before the corruptions of popery; and, because of their subsequent abuse, there was not a sufficient reason for abolishing a regulation which had in it so much of decency and propriety.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the liturgy began with a form of daily service at morning and evening, the office being nearly the same as at present, only with this difference, that it com-

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menced with the Lord's prayer. The Psalter was appointed to be read through monthly in portions, and the lessons, with a little variation, are in the same order as is still in use. A litany was also composed from the most ancient liturgies, consisting of short petitions, interrupted by responses; but the invocations of saints and martyrs, used by the church of Rome, were omitted, and supplications were addressed only to the three persons of the Blessed Trinity, first severally and then jointly.

The communion service, which, in the preceding year, had been set forth separately, was retained with a few alterations. After the consecration all elevation was forbidden, but the people were commanded to kneel when they communicated. The doctrine of the corporal presence was still under consideration, and therefore the scriptural expressions, that the body and blood of Christ were received in the Lord's supper by the faithful, were retained. The prayer of consecration was the same with that now in use, with this addition: "With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son."

In the occasional offices many ceremonies were observed, which have been since abolished as being of a superstitious tendency. Besides the use of the cross in baptism, there was at the same time an adjuration of the devil to go out of the baptized person, and to come into him no more. A chrysosome, or white vestment, was put on the newly baptized person, as a token of innocence, and he was anointed on the head by the priest, who ac-

accompanied the ceremony with a prayer for the unction of the Holy Ghost. The catechism was the same as at present, except an addition on the two sacraments, and it was repeated by the catechumens when they were confirmed. The sign of the cross was made on the forehead of each person confirmed, in addition to the imposition of hands; and, in the office of matrimony, the priest, when he gave the benediction, made the sign of the cross on the forehead of the newly married persons.

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In the visitation of the sick, those who desired to be anointed might have the unction on their forehead or breast only, with a prayer that, as their bodies were outwardly anointed with oil, so they might receive the Holy Ghost with health, and victory over sin and death. At funerals the departed soul was recommended to the mercy of God, with a prayer that its sins might be pardoned, and that the body might be raised and glorified at the last day.

To the liturgy was prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies; a composition justly thought worthy of being preserved, and it still keeps its place at the beginning of the Common Prayer. In this preface a distinction is made between ceremonies which were introduced with a good design, and in process of time abused, and those which had a corrupt origin, and were at the beginning vain and insignificant. The last kind the reformers entirely rejected, but the first were still used for decency and edification. Some well disposed Christians were so attached to ancient forms, that they would on no account suffer the least deviation, others

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were fond of innovation in every thing. Between these extremes a middle way had been carefully observed. Many ceremonies had been so grossly abused by superstition and avarice, that it was necessary to remove them altogether; but since it was fit to use some ceremonies for the sake of decency and order, it seemed better to retain those that were old than to invent new. Still it must be remembered, that those which were kept rested not on the same foundation as the law of God, and might be altered for reasonable causes; and the English reformers, in keeping them, neither condemned those nations which thought them inexpedient, nor prescribed them to any other nation than their own.

Nov. 24. When the liturgy had been completed by the committee, it was revised and approved by the two convocations of Canterbury and York, or rather by a majority of these bodies, and was then submitted to the consideration of parliament. It was first brought under the examination of the house of commons, and received immediate assent; but in the house of lords it continued long under
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Jan. 15. deliberation. The concurrence of the lords was not at last obtained without a protest from the earl of Derby, the lords Dacres and Windsor, with the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, three of whom had belonged to the committee*.

A statute was then passed for the use of the new

* The bishops of Hereford, Westminster, and Chichester.

liturgy book throughout the kingdom, and was entitled “An act for the uniformity of divine service*.” The variety in the forms of public worship, and the consequent irregularities, were described, but the king had refrained from punishing such disorders, believing that their authors were actuated by an honest zeal. For their more effectual remedy, he had appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops and divines, to draw up an office for all the parts of divine service. He had enjoined those whom he had selected for the work to have a regard “to the direction of the Holy Scriptures, and the usages of the primitive church.” This work was now finished by the persons appointed, with one uniform agreement, “by the aid of the Holy Ghost.”

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The enactments against such of the clergy as officiated “in any manner different from the rubric” prescribed by the new liturgy were, a fine for the first offence, and imprisonment for life, with forfeiture of goods, for a contumacious refusal. A clause provided that, “for the encouragement of learning,” the universities might use a Latin, Greek, or Hebrew translation, of any part of the service book, the communion office only excepted.

In this manner was the “first service book” of Edward the Sixth established by the supreme authority. It was censured by the violent of all parties; but even their united censures were exceeded by the general approbation. The com-

* 2d and 3d of Edward VI. c. 1.

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mendation that it was effected by the aid of the Holy Ghost was not more than just, when understood as an acknowledgment that divine grace, if earnestly implored, will always assist the sincere endeavours, and sanctify the imperfect actions, of man.

CHAPTER IX.

Interference of the Foreign Reformers.—Letter of Calvin to Somerset, and of Melancthon to Cranmer.—Bucer and Fagius arrive in England, and are appointed to Theological Professorships at Cambridge.—Martyr is appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford.—Disputations at Oxford and Cambridge on the Corporal Presence.—Progress of the Anabaptists and Gospellers.—Rebellions in various Parts of England.—Deprivation of Boner.—Fall of Somerset.—Deprivation of Gardiner.—Consecration of Hooper, and Dispute concerning the Vestments.—Dispute concerning Altars and Tables.

WHATEVER had been hitherto effected in the reformation of the church of England was the work of English statesmen and English divines. During the life of Henry the Eighth, the alliance and counsel of foreign protestant states and churches had been proffered, but not accepted. The opinions of foreign divines had been occasionally solicited, but often they were treated with neglect, and often, after deliberation, rejected.

With the accession of Edward a new prospect was opened to the foreign reformers, and a new era commenced in the history of the English church. The king, being in a state of nonage, was under the tutelage of his ministers, in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs, and these counsellors persuaded him to accept the overtures of the most eminent divines on the continent, not only on account of their theological acquisitions, but of their political influence.

Calvin and Bullinger with promptness availed

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themselves of this friendly disposition. They well knew the weight of England in the protestant cause, and were solicitous to promote an uniformity of faith, as the basis of an union in ecclesiastical government. In an address to the young king, they submitted a project of an alliance, and offered to place him at the head of the protestant league, and they proposed to adopt the form of episcopal government in the foreign churches, as it had been already established in England *. If this proposition had been accepted, an impregnable bulwark would have been raised against the attacks of the Romish hierarchy.

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Oct. 22.

The Genevan reformer was acquainted with the station and the power which Somerset at this time possessed, and therefore applied himself to secure a co-operation so valuable. In an epistle to the protector, he encouraged a farther progress in the reformation. Although he lamented the intemperance of some who professed the gospel, yet he complained that the English sermons were deficient in animation and energy. According to the information transmitted to him, there were two sorts of mischievous professors in England: one of these were the gospellers, men of whim and enthusiasm, who, if not restrained, would confound all order and public settlement; the other class were addicted to the old Romish superstition. Both these classes of men ought to feel the sword of the magistrate, for they were revolvers against God, as well as rebels against the king. Having thus advised the adoption of rigorous measures against

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 15.

such as were contumacious, he stated those abuses which demanded correction. He gave a testimony of approbation to a prescribed form of prayer, and regarded a catechism as a necessary expedient; but he confined the rule of divine worship to the express declarations of Scripture, without any deference to the practice of the primitive church. In the English liturgy lately set forth, he censured the prayers for the dead, the use of the chrism and extreme unction, since they were not warranted by Scripture. He had heard one reason assigned for the tardiness of the English reformation, which was, that the times would not bear more; but this was to do the work of God according to political maxims: such maxims might be of use in secular affairs, but should not be followed in matters which concerned the salvation of souls*.

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Melancthon prosecuted his plan of a general union among the protestant churches in a different spirit from Calvin. Though he did not neglect to make a direct communication to the young king, yet his chief reliance was placed on Cranmer. The archbishop having named England as the most proper place of meeting for the heads of the reformed churches, Melancthon readily acceded to the suggestion. He willingly offered to take a part in the deliberations of such an assembly, being alike prepared to give and to receive advice†. But all private opinion or prejudice ought to yield to truth, to the glory of God, and the good of the

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 1. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. b. 4. has shown that Burnet has erroneously placed the date of this letter in the preceding year.

† Τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος. Melancth. Ep. I. i. 66.

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church. He thought that many controversies had arisen from the use of ambiguous terms, and that nothing would so effectually silence them as precision of language *.

The epistle of Calvin had been preceded by the arrival of two confidential friends, whom Calvin had encouraged to proceed to England, on the invitation of Cranmer. Bucer had already been known for his controversy with Gardiner concerning the marriage of priests, and was selected both by Somerset and Cranmer as an useful coadjutor in propagating the reformed doctrines. In learning, Bucer was exceeded by none of the reformers; in genuine piety, in zeal tempered by meekness and moderation, he was equalled only by Melancthon. His talents were peculiarly adapted for the communication of instruction by lectures, for he had neither the quickness nor self-possession essential to a disputant. The first invitation of Cranmer he declined, but to a second application, renewed with earnestness, he yielded.

April.

With Bucer was associated Fagius, an able expositor of the Scriptures, and a man of deep erudition in the oriental languages. These two foreigners were received by Cranmer with his accustomed urbanity, and, on their first arrival, they formed a part of his household; but they were soon removed to a more conspicuous station, and were appointed to read theological lectures at Cambridge. As the studies of Fagius had been directed to the Hebrew language, he was the ex-

* Melancthon says, "In ecclesia melius est scapham, scapham dicere."

positor of the Old Testament, and Bucer read lectures on the New Testament. Fagius began his readings on the prophecies of Isaiah, and Bucer on the gospel of Saint John. But their labours were soon interrupted; sickness suspended those of Bucer, and death terminated those of Fagius*.

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While Cambridge was enlightened by the learning of these German divines, Oxford could boast of a character not inferior, by the appointment of Peter Martyr to the king's professorship of divinity. Martyr came to England in the same year with Bucer, and had long enjoyed his friendship, as well as that of Calvin. Florence was the place of his birth, where he had been an Augustinian friar; but his application to the Latin and Greek languages had excited against him the envy and hatred of his fraternity, and their hostility was increased by his adoption of the reformed doctrines. On the chief point of controversy between the Romanists and the reformers, that of the corporal presence, his sentiments were farther removed from the church of Rome than those of Bucer, and he expressed them with less reserve. Bucer was willing to make use of general terms in his explanation of this grand tenet, and such as might conciliate both parties, but Martyr steadily refused such a compromise†.

Besides those foreigners whom England invited and retained in her universities for the instruction of her youth, and for the counsel of her prelates, several congregations of refugees were permitted

* Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, b. ii. c. 13.

† Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. b. 1. c. 15.

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to settle under the government of their respective pastors, and with the full enjoyment of their religious worship. A Dutch congregation was established in London under the superintendence of John Alasco, a Polish nobleman*, whose piety and learning were placed beyond the reach of cavil by the friendship of Erasmus. Alasco attended Erasmus in his last sickness, and possessed, either by bequest or purchase, the library of that ornament of letters. Difference in their age was no impediment to their unreserved intimacy; for Erasmus, to the end of life, retained the vivacity of youth, and Alasco, in his early years, had acquired the gravity of age†. To the high encomium of Erasmus on the personal merit of Alasco, must be added the approving sentence of Melancthon on the purity of the doctrines taught in his churches; and with such recommendations he could not fail to experience the kindness and protection of Cranmer. The interest both of the primate and the protector was successfully exerted in procuring for him a grant of the church belonging to the Gray Friars in London, and the bishop of London was constituted the guardian and conservator of the privileges of this foreign congregation.

Another foreign community, consisting chiefly of French and Walloons, was founded at Glastonbury, under the patronage of Somerset, of the

* Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, b. ii. c. 22.

† *Senex juvenis convietu factus sum melior, ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis à sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici.* *Erasm. l. xix. ep. 16.*

secretary Cecil, and, it is presumed, of Crammer. It was established under the pastoral government of Valerandus Pollanus, who had the title of superintendent, and his congregation obtained a grant of some of the tenements belonging to the dissolved abbey. Pollanus had been expelled from Strasburg, together with his flock; and, for the purpose of vindicating their doctrine from misrepresentation, he published, in Latin, the liturgy which they used: he also purposed to publish aphorisms of their discipline, and asserted that there was not a more pure church since the time of the apostles*.

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That the influence of these foreign congregations on the church of England was greater than it ought to have been, and that this influence was injuriously exercised, are assertions which cannot be entirely denied. But they will not apply to Bucer or Martyr, whose interference was demanded, but never officiously or offensively obtruded. Their decisions were not infallible, but they sat in the chair of instruction, and therefore they "spoke with authority."

The distinguishing tenet of the Romish church, that of the corporal presence, had not yet been formally renounced, though in the late liturgy it had not been asserted, and there was no obstacle to communion in the moderate of either party. Martyr and Bucer, by their academical station, were enabled to bring this tenet to the test of scholastic disputation. At Oxford the doctrine of transubstantiation had many advocates, who were encouraged by the indulgence of the government, by the

* Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. b. 1. c. 29.

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indecisive or contrary sentiments of the reformers, and by the lenity of Cranmer. Even the foreign reformers were divided, and that difference was discernible in their confessions of faith. The Augsburg confession asserted, that in this sacrament the body and blood of Christ are present in verity, and are distributed to the faithful partakers of the Lord's supper*. The Helvetian confession taught that the Lord's supper is nothing more than a sacramental commemoration of the death and sufferings of Christ†. Luther seems to have agreed with the Augsburg confession, while Calvin was inclined to adopt a middle course between the confessions of Augsburg and Helvetia. He maintained that in the Lord's supper there was not only a commemoration of the death of Christ, but also a communication of his body and blood, which were not figuratively but really present.

Before Bucer and Fagius had quitted the household of Cranmer, Martyr was established in his professorship at Oxford, and had entered on its duties. The subject of his lectures was an exposition of that part of the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which refers to the institution of the Lord's supper. He explained this portion of Scripture according to his own notions of the nature and end of the institution, but his interpretation was directly opposed to the general sense of the university. The Romanists not only contradicted Martyr in the schools, and challenged him to a public disputation, but endeavoured unfairly to hasten the day, and to leave Martyr to

* Art. 10.

† Art. 21.

contend both singly and unprepared. The first intimation given to him of the intentions of his antagonists was by the secret communication of a friend, who advised him not to appear in the schools on that day. But such advice, however well intended, was not agreeable to the decided temper of Martyr. A desertion of the theological chair at such a crisis he justly thought would be construed into a consciousness of the weakness of his cause, or of his inability to defend it, and he resolved to proceed to the schools with boldness. On his way thither, he received a challenge of disputation from Smith, a doctor of the university; but, without noticing this indecorous attack, he went on, and occupied the chair, where he displayed an equal share of courage and discretion. The presumption of Smith he gravely reproved, and while he did not decline the proffered challenge, refused to accept it without a licence from the privy council. But he declared his resolution not to be interrupted on that day in the delivery of his lecture, and the declaration had nearly occasioned a tumult. A reference was made to the vice-chancellor, before whom Martyr avowed that he was ready to defend any opinion which he had delivered in his lectures, but at the same time insisted that the disputation should be managed in scriptural and not in scholastic terms.

The privy council having deliberately consulted on the matter, agreed that the disputation should take place, and appointed delegates to preside in it. Smith, either for his late tumultuous behaviour, or for some other cause, was obliged to find sureties for his future conduct, and then, being discharged

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from any future process, left the kingdom. But other advocates of the corporal presence were not wanted in the university, and the challenge of Smith was offered by Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan. Certain conditions of a disputation were mutually agreed on, and the subject was divided into three distinct propositions: 1. In the sacrament of the eucharist there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. 2. The body and blood of Christ are not corporally or carnally in or under the species of the bread and wine. 3. The body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally.

May 28.

The disputation took place before Cox, dean of Christ-church, and vice-chancellor. It continued during four days, while Martyr alone combated the arguments of his three antagonists. How he acquitted himself in the disputation may be known from the recapitulation of Cox, whose office as moderator led him to award a due measure of praise to the several disputants, rather than to decide to which side the victory belonged. The high ability displayed by Martyr in argumentation was thus eulogized: "Peter Martyr has established a good title to his Christian name and his surname. Peter may he well be called, for his inflexible constancy; and Martyr, for the numberless testimonies produced by him in behalf of the truth. Such as he is, he must obtain favour and respect from us, and from all good men: first, because he has taken such pains in sustaining even a burden of disputations; for if not Hercules himself could withstand two, what shall we think of Martyr against all? secondly, because he accepted the challenge, and

thus stopped the mouths of vain men, who dispersed envious and odious accusations against him, as one who was either afraid or unwilling to maintain his own cause; and lastly, that he has so fully answered the expectation of the chief magistrates, and so of the king himself; while he has not only recommended to the university the doctrine of Christ, from the living fountains of the word of God, but has not permitted others to obscure or obstruct them*.”

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Oxford was not the only scene of disputation on the doctrine of the corporal presence. Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, with some others of the king's commissioners†, was sent to Cambridge, where there were public disputations on these two propositions: 1. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor necessarily collected from it, and it cannot be proved by the consent of the ancient fathers: 2. In the Lord's supper there is none other oblation and sacrifice than of a remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving.

June 20.
24. 27.

On the first day Madew defended these propositions, and was opposed by Glyn, Langdale, Sedgwick, and Young; but on the second day, Glyn took the contrary side, and defended the converse of the propositions, against Pern, Grindal, Gest, and Pilkington. On the third day, Pern was respondent, Parker, Pollard, Vavasor, and Young arguing against him. When the disputation had

* Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, b. ii. c. 14.

† The other commissioners were Goodrich, bishop of Ely; May, dean of Saint Paul's; Dr. Wendy, the king's physician; and Cheke, his preceptor. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 4.

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been sufficiently protracted, Ridley recapitulated the arguments on both sides, and concluded with an elaborate determination against the corporal presence. One argument was strongly insisted on by Ridley, which had always been urged by Wiclif, though Ridley acknowledged himself indebted to Bertramm^{*} for its first suggestion; that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a corruption of the ninth century, and that the contrary doctrine, for nearly a thousand years, prevailed in the church of Christ, and particularly in the church of England[†].

These public disputations in the universities were the natural consequence of a previous disputation in a place less fitted for its discussion. The subject in the preceding session had been debated in parliament[‡], though no record of the debate has been preserved.

While the English prelates were thus engaged in a laborious and dispassionate investigation of a fundamental tenet of the church of Rome, their

* The famous antagonist of Pascasius Radbertus, abbot of Corby. Charles the Bald ordered Bertramm and Johannes Scotus to draw up a clear and rational explanation of the eucharist. The treatise of Scotus has perished, that of Bertramm is still extant. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat.* tom. i.

† In the language of one of the Saxon homilies: "Much is betwixt the body Christ suffered in, and the body hallowed to housell (i. e. the sacrament), this latter being only his ghostly body gathered of many cornes, without blood and bone, without limb, without soule, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is to be ghostly understood." Published by archbishop Parker. See Lewis's *Life of Wiclif*, c. vi.

‡ There was a notable disputation of the sacrament in the parliament house. King Edward Sixth's *Journal*, year 2d.

attention was imperiously called to the irregular proceedings of a sect of reformers, who had already excited rebellion in Germany, and had found their way into England. This sect, generally called anabaptists, was divided into two kinds, of which the milder species was comparatively harmless. The moderate anabaptists held that infant baptism was of no validity, that this sacrament ought not to be administered but to such as were of an age capable of receiving instruction; they referred to the example of Christ, who commanded his disciples to teach all nations, before baptism; and they attributed the decay of Christian piety to the baptism of children before they could understand the meaning of the ordinance. Whatever may be thought concerning the soundness of their arguments, the moderate anabaptists were not deserving of punishment: but there was another and a dangerous kind of fanatics distinguished by the same appellation. They denied the necessity and propriety of infant baptism, but they also adopted many other peculiarities. The mysteries of the Trinity, of the incarnation and atonement, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were, in their judgment, philosophical subtleties, and not doctrines revealed in the Scripture. Their renunciation of all the principles of Christianity was accompanied by a spirit fierce and cruel, which had burst forth into a general rebellion throughout Germany.

Among the other fugitives who had escaped from the rustic war, excited by the German anabaptists, many of its promoters, suffering the consequences of their own turbulent spirit, sought an asylum in England. A complaint was laid before

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IX. their errors, and in gaining proselytes. In consequence of this representation, a commission was
August 12. issued to several bishops and divines, authorizing them to search after and examine all anabaptists, heretics, and contemnners of the book of common prayer. Such delinquents the commissioners were first to endeavour to reclaim, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution; but, in case of incorrigible obstinacy, to excommunicate, imprison, and finally to deliver them over to the secular power. The opinions commonly maintained by these sectarists may be ascertained from the abjurations which some were prevailed to make, and they were to the following purport: that a man regenerated cannot sin; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not; that there was no trinity of persons in the Godhead; that Jesus Christ was nothing more than a holy prophet, and not, in any sense, God; that all the benefit which men obtained by the mission of Christ was his teaching them the way to heaven; that he took not flesh of the Virgin; and that the baptism of infants was unprofitable.

There was another class of religionists, which was not distinguished for holding erroneous tenets, but for the abuse and perversion of such as were true. They were called gossellers, or readers of the gospel, but were a scandal to their Christian vocation. So profligate were their morals, that they called forth the most severe expostulations, and the most heavy denunciations of divine vengeance

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 1.

from the eloquent preachers of the times*. The doctrine of predestination having been generally maintained by the reformers, the gossellers deduced from it the most unwarrantable inferences; concluding that, since every thing was decreed by God, and that, since the divine decrees could not be frustrated, therefore it was vain or impious for man to resist. This perversion was the cause in some men of impiety, and in others of despair. Luther, who began with an unqualified assertion of the doctrine of predestination, and a denial of free-will, lived long enough to see the practical effects of these tenets: while Melancthon was decidedly adverse to the doctrines themselves. Calvin and Bucer, though they taught that the decrees of God were absolute and irrespective, were careful in admonishing the people against drawing unfair and dangerous consequences from this truth. The divine decrees are among "the secret things of God:" it was therefore useless to search into mysteries which could never be penetrated, and it was extremely hazardous to make these secret counsels the rule of conduct.

The commissioners appointed to examine and to reclaim the anabaptists and sectarians performed the duty with forbearance as well as fidelity. The attempt was made by public controversy, and by

* "How lamentably are we overrun with hypocritical and sensual gossellers! men who have their tongues tipped with scriptural expressions, can dispute very copiously for justification by faith, talk with great assurance of forgiveness by the blood of Christ, and boast of their being entered upon the list of the predestinated to glory: but then, how wretchedly wide do they live of the rule they pretend to!" Becon's Preface to *Jewel of Joy*.

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private conference, and speaking generally, the reformers were averse from propagating even truth by violence. That there are exceptions to this assertion, it is impossible to deny; exceptions the more conspicuous, because they are rare; and they have been studiously displayed, in order to show that the protestants, when the sword was placed in their hands, were not less inclined to persecute than the papists. One of these exceptions was the execution of Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent; a proceeding which is not only a blot on the reformation, but on the personal character of Cranmer. To obliterate it is impossible, and to extenuate it is injudicious, unless by the candid acknowledgment that the principles of religious toleration were not then fully understood.

This unfortunate woman was cited before the commissioners, for reviving part of the Valentinian heresy, and denying that Christ was incarnate of the Virgin Mary. It was not without many ineffectual efforts to convince her, that Cranmer at length delivered her over to the secular power, after having condemned her as an obstinate heretic. The sentence being reported to the council, the king was moved to sign a warrant for her execution; but his repugnance was not easily overcome, and Cranmer, whose powers of persuasion were acknowledged, was employed to remove the scruples of the young prince. The archbishop argued from the law of Moses, by which blasphemers were commanded to be stoned, even by their nearest relatives; and made a distinction between errors on speculative, doubtful, or indifferent points, and a denial of the vital and essential

doctrines of Christianity. His arguments tended to silence but not to satisfy the king. Edward at last signed the warrant with tears in his eyes, expressing a passionate wish that he had never learned to write, and at the same time imposing on the archbishop the responsibility of the transaction. The behaviour of the king impressed Cranmer deeply, and the execution of the sentence was suspended: he joined with Ridley in an endeavour to convince her of her errors; but she was not only impenetrable to their arguments, but contemptuous in her replies*. When brought to the stake, Scory, afterwards bishop of Rochester, was appointed to preach a discourse in confutation of her heresy, but she interrupted him in the most intemperate language, and persisted in her contumacy even to death†.

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During the time when the commissioners were employed in suppressing the extravagancies of sectarists, insurrections of a formidable nature took place in various parts of the kingdom. No measure connected with the reformation had produced so great a change in the political state of England as the dissolution of the monasteries. While the abbey's stood, numbers were maintained solely by their bounty; while their lands were leased on moderate terms, and their tenantry gained a comfortable subsistence. But the individuals to whom the

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* She told Cranmer that he had condemned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and was now ready to condemn her for a piece of flesh. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 4. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. c. 2.

† Burnet and Neal have represented Joan Bocher as insane; but Strype gives a different account. *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii.

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abbey lands had been alienated, were obliged by no vows to perform acts of charity, and were not under the control of public opinion. Marriage being now universally allowed, the population had greatly increased, while the means of subsistence were diminished. Several of the nobility and gentry, being willing to improve the monastic property which had been conveyed to them, had enclosed a considerable portion of waste lands, and though the enclosure was an ultimate benefit to the country, it was an immediate benefit only to the proprietors. An act for enclosing and imparking grounds had been carried through the house of lords, and, although rejected by the commons, the practice was continued, not in defiance of any existing law, but without legal authority.

The protector, in opposition to the council, espoused the cause of the commonalty: he published two proclamations, one against all enclosures, and another indemnifying all who had transgressed the law by destroying them, on condition of future obedience. Thus encouraged by the countenance of the protector, discontent soon assumed the form of a regular and dangerous rebellion. In Kent, Oxfordshire, and Sussex, it was quickly suppressed; but in Devonshire and Norfolk the rebels were not only numerous but well organized, and, notwithstanding the distance of these two counties, appeared to act in concert.

In Devonshire, a county remote from the court, and addicted to the Romish worship, the rebels appeared in great force, and acquired strength from the supineness and timidity of the government.

Under the command of Humphrey Arundel, a gentleman of Cornwall, they besieged the city of Exeter, and proposed terms of submission. Their demands were chiefly that the religious establishment should be altered, and the Romish worship restored, and the articles on which they consented to capitulate were sent to the council. Cranmer was commanded to answer these articles, and, in compliance with his instructions, enlarged on each with his accustomed perspicuity, and with great strength of argument defended the separation of the church of England from the superstitious and idolatrous worship of the church of Rome. The purport of the answer was a refusal of all the demands so insolently pressed, and an exhortation to return to unqualified obedience.

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Awed by the firmness with which their demands were resisted, the rebels moderated their tone, but persisted in proposing conditions; and they were met a second time in a different manner than they had been answered by Cranmer. An address was issued in the name of the king, in which, after expressing an affection for his people, he charged the malcontents with rebellion against him in defiance of the laws of God. The address stated, that the people were abused by their priests, and that the changes of which they complained had been made after a long and impartial deliberation. The address was expressed in peremptory terms, and, after an invitation to return to their duty, concluded with a warning that, in case of obstinacy, they might expect the most rigorous treatment. But the inflamed multitude, led on by their priests, having in vain attempted to take Exeter by force,

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resolved to reduce the garrison by famine. The inhabitants suffered the greatest extremities till the siege was raised, and the rebels defeated, by the lords Russel and Grey.

August 3. While the rebellion in Devonshire was at its height, another equally alarming raged in Norfolk. Religion was not here made the pretext; but the professed aim of the rebels was to destroy the nobility and higher orders, and to place new counsellors about the king. They were headed by one Ket, a tanner, and though undisciplined, their irregular sallies spread consternation. Ket assumed to himself the right of judicature, and under an old oak, hence called the oak of reformation, administered justice to his adherents. The sheriff of the county came boldly among them, and exhorted them to disperse; but a precipitate flight alone preserved him from their fury. Parker, the second protestant archbishop of Canterbury, in a more pacific guise, ventured to remonstrate with them; but though his intrepidity and his sacred function commanded their respect, yet his oratory was unavailing. The marquis of Northampton, with a small armed force, was compelled to retreat, after sustaining a serious loss, and the honour of quelling the insurrection was reserved for the earl of Warwick. Ket was taken, and, with some of the principal insurgents, suffered his merited punishment.

August 27. Boner had not been a careless observer of these commotions, and was not without reason suspected of fomenting them. Since his release from confinement, he had opposed all the measures of the reformers, while under discussion; but if they were

enacted by law, his obedience, though constrained, was punctual! Yet the manner in which he executed the orders of the council was calculated to bring them into contempt, and he had shown particular remissness in dispersing copies of the new service book, and enjoining its use throughout his diocese. After having received many admonitions for his negligence, he was, like Gardiner, commanded to preach on an appointed day, and the matter of his discourse was prescribed. Injunctions were given that he should preach against rebellion, and on the power of the king during his minority: but he converted his discourse into a defence of the corporal presence, mingled with censures on those who opposed the doctrine, and was either silent on the topics prescribed for discussion, or treated them in such a manner as to raise dissension. Informations were laid against him by two of his hearers, and a commission was issued to Cranmer and Ridley, the two secretaries of state, and May, the dean of St. Paul's, with full powers to suspend, imprison, or deprive him.

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By a court thus questionably constituted, Boner was not only deprived of his bishopric, but was, during the trial, sent to prison, and, by the sentence of the commissioners, his imprisonment was continued during the royal pleasure. Coarse in his manners, and brutal in his temper, he was not deficient in acuteness, and on many points in the examination gained a decided advantage over his judges. If his deportment were insolent and unbecoming, and if his language were intemperate *,

Oct. 1.

* "I have a right," he said, "to three things: a few effects, my body, and my soul: the two first you may make prize of,

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they were met by equal bitterness. It is universally acknowledged that he disgraced his sacred function, and dishonoured any party to whom he attached himself; but his total unfitness for the episcopal office bears hard on the discrimination of his first patrons, Cromwell and Crammer, or their discernment must be vindicated at the expense of their integrity.

It was not without reluctance that the court proceeded to a sentence, whose severity was confessed, and whose legality might be disputed. Boner received promises of favour, on condition of submission; but he excepted both against the authority of the commissioners and the justice of the sentence, and appealed from the delegates to the king in person. It is scarcely necessary to add that his appeal was rejected.

The Norfolk and Devonshire rebellions which had tended to the crimination of Boner, also prepared the way for the fall of Somerset. Contrary to the advice of a majority of the council, he had proclaimed a general amnesty; but his moderation was interpreted into a partiality for a democratical government. He had studiously gained popularity, which he had converted into an instrument of private aggrandizement, and his spoliation of ecclesiastical property had alienated the friendship of the reformers. Ridley had successfully resisted his attempt to plunder the university of Cambridge, and Goodrich, bishop of Ely, had openly arranged himself on the side of Somerset's enemies. The opposition against his measures in

though unjustly; but I will keep the last out of your power." — Acts and Monuments.

the council became so strong, that he was deprived of his exorbitant power, and reduced to an equality with the other members of the board. To the loss of influence succeeded loss of liberty; articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, in which he was accused of violating the conditions on which he was raised to the protectorate, of entering into treaties, and of conferring places of trust and emolument without the consent of his colleagues.

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Somerset could bear his fall with greater equanimity than he had borne his elevation. While he was imprisoned in the Tower, he applied himself to study, and meeting with a treatise on patience, recommended both by philosophic and Christian arguments, he procured its translation into English, and published it with a preface, written by himself. Peter Martyr wrote to him a long epistle of consolation, which was thought worthy to be published in the original Latin, and in an English version.

Cranmer, who had shown too great flexibility to the aspiring views of Somerset, did not desert him when his power was at an end, but laboured to avert his downfall. The Romanists could not conceal their joy at the event; for the earl of Warwick, who was expected to succeed Somerset in power, though not in station, had given them private assurances of his favour*. Gardiner sent to him a congratulatory letter, rejoicing that the late tyranny was overpast, and calling the attention of the new minister to the indignities suffered by one of the prelates of the church. Boner addressed a petition that his appeal might be received, and the process against him reversed. Many who, through

* Burnet's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. b. 5.

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fear or interest, had complied with the late changes, now refused to join in the liturgy, or to hold communion with the church.

Whatever hopes might have been entertained by the Romanists were quickly disappointed, or whatever promises had been given by the earl of Warwick were completely falsified. His ambition was perhaps greater than that of Somerset, and he was totally devoid of principle. He soon perceived that the only way of preserving the favour of the young king was by expressing an abhorrence of the corruptions of popery; and whatever his real sentiments might have been, he succeeded in disguising them. The congratulations of Gardiner were left unanswered; the petition of Boner was indeed taken into consideration, but his appeal was dismissed.

Nov. 4.

The succeeding session of parliament and convocation was employed in the completion of the liturgy. An act was passed to call in the old missals and other service books, that there might not be any diversity of opinions or ceremonies, and to remove all images out of churches*. But an act of greater consequence related to a new ordinal, or a form of ordaining “bishops, priests, and deacons, or ministers of the church†.” The statute was passed, after a protestation by five of the bishops‡, by which the work was committed to the management of six prelates and six divines, to be appointed under the great seal.

* Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.

† Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 12.

‡ Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster.

The committee assiduously prepared the ordinal, with the exception of Heath, bishop of Worcester, who, on a refusal to consent to the alterations, was, after being summoned before the council, sent to the Fleet. In the reformed ritual, all ceremonies were abolished which had nothing to recommend them but empty pomp, and which might be abused to purposes of superstition. The only form of ordination mentioned in Scripture was that of imposition of hands, accompanied by prayer, and therefore the additions of later ages were abolished. In the consecration of bishops, the gloves, the sandals, the mitre, the ring, and the crosier, were omitted; and in the ordination of priests, it was no longer thought expedient to use unction, or to deliver the sacred vessels employed at the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

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The only orders which the English ritual acknowledged were bishops, priests, and deacons; those being of apostolical institution, and the others the addition of modern ages. The distinction between the two higher orders of bishops and priests is preserved in the ordinal of Edward. In the consecration of bishops, there is an express declaration, by two bishops, that the person presented is one of their own order. There are more questions demanded of him by the archbishop, or presiding bishop, some of which suppose a superior authority in his character, and that the exercise of discipline and the government of a diocese are peculiar to the episcopal function. The consecration of a bishop is performed by at least three of the episcopal order; whereas the ordination of a priest is performed by one bishop, with the assist-

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ance of priests. But neither of the orders is accounted valid, unless received from a bishop: the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, are all conferred by episcopal authority.

June 26.

The first bishop consecrated by the reformed ordinal was Poinet, who, on the promotion of Ridley to the see of London, succeeded to the vacant see of Rochester. Poinet is not so well known in the history of the English church as his station demands and his merits deserve. He was educated at Cambridge, where he was honoured by the friendship of Ridley; and that friendship, which was never bestowed unworthily, is a sufficient refutation of the calumnies, eagerly disseminated by the Romanists against his memory. His writings, both in Latin and English, are an extant monument of his learning; while biography records his critical knowledge of Greek, and the fluency with which he spoke the German and Italian languages. His extraordinary skill in mathematics had introduced him to the notice of Henry *, and his eloquence in the pulpit gained him the favour of Edward.

A few months elapsed, and Poinet was translated to the see of Winchester; for it yet remained to dispose of Gardiner, who had continued two years a prisoner in the Tower. His imprisonment, without any trial, was highly arbitrary and illegal; and his deprivation will not admit of any excuse from the necessity of the case. With justice he com-

* Henrico Octavo dicitur horologium fecisse, quod non solum horas vulgares ostenderet, sed dies etiam mensis, mutationes lunares, et fluxûs atque refluxûs maris tempora. Godwin de Præsulibus.

plained that articles of doctrine were brought to him, while in confinement, for subscription, and that he was thereby prevented from a fair discussion of the agreement of these articles with Scripture. He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured to show, that the accusations against him originated in malice. Like Boner, he appealed from the commissioners to the king in person: but his judges proceeded to a sentence of deprivation, and, like Boner, he was imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

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Feb. 15.

Even the advancement of Ridley and Poinet was not sufficient to protect the deprivation of Gardiner or Boner from censure, which the impoverished condition of the important bishoprics of London and Winchester tended to increase. An annual revenue of one thousand pounds was the inadequate stipend allotted to Ridley and Poinet for their support, while the property of their bishoprics was sequestered, and subjected to a temporary secularization.

If these proceedings excited the censures of the enemies of the church, another event occurred which caused a schism within it. The promotion of Hooper to the bishopric of Gloucester was the source of a contest, attended with such fatal consequences, that we may say of it, "How great a matter hath a little fire kindled*!" Hooper was a student and a graduate of the university of Oxford; but left England to avoid persecution under the statute of the six articles. He resided at Zurich during the remainder of Henry's reign;

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 5.

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but on the death of that prince returned to his native country, strongly prepossessed in favour of the doctrines and the ecclesiastical government of the Zuinglian churches. The duke of Somerset appointed him chaplain to his household, and the fortunes of Hooper did not decline with those of his first patron, for he succeeded in the favour of Somerset's rival, the earl of Warwick. His diligence in the pastoral office, and his reputation as a preacher, gained the countenance of the court, and, in conjunction with Poinet, he was appointed to preach the sermons in Lent before the king. His elevation to the episcopate obtained the cordial assent of Cranmer and Ridley: they knew his popularity as a preacher, and they knew the efficacy of preaching in promoting the reformation.

To the acceptance of a bishopric, under the existing policy, Hooper entertained strong objections. It appears that one of his scruples related to the oath of supremacy, and that he excepted against the following clause, "by God, by the saints, and by the holy gospels." This form, in his judgment, was impious, and he argued before the king in council, that to God alone man ought to appeal in an oath, for God alone knew the heart of man. The young king was so powerfully affected by this argument, that he erased, with his own hand, the obnoxious words from the oath*.

But the other scruples of Hooper were not so easily satisfied, because they were less reasonable. It has been already related that the vestments used in the church of Rome were retained in the church

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 4.

of England, and Hooper refused to be consecrated in the proper episcopal habit. This refusal he justified by arguing, that these vestments were unsuitable to the simplicity of the Christian religion; that they were relics of Judaism; that they belonged to the ceremonies which Saint Paul had condemned as beggarly elements; and that they had been superstitiously consecrated, and used in the idolatrous service of the mass.

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Cranmer had neither liberty nor inclination to gratify the singularities of Hooper; and having refused to proceed to the consecration, persisted in his refusal, though the earl of Warwick solicited the king to grant a dispensation, discharging him from all penalties to which he might have been otherwise liable*. Ridley, in a conference with Hooper, contended, that although traditions in matters of faith were justly rejected, yet custom was a good argument for the continuance of rites and ceremonies. Saint Paul condemned those Jewish ceremonies, which some would have retained by virtue of the authority of the Mosaic law; but their observance, without the recognition of that law, he not only approved but practised. The superstitious use of the sacerdotal vestments was not a better reason for their discontinuance, than the demolition of churches, or the removal of bells, because the one had been consecrated, and the other baptized, with many superstitious ceremonies.

Unwilling to trust his own judgment, Cranmer referred the question to Bucer, and Bucer submitted it to Peter Martyr. These two foreigners,

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. b. 1.

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though their prepossessions were against the use of the vestments, and though their practice was suitable to their prejudices, decided against Hooper, and concluded that the vestments might be lawfully worn. Their arguments had little weight with Hooper, for he had the support of Bullinger and Alasco, and he not only refused to yield, but indulged himself in censorious invectives against the customs of the church.

For his incomppliance, and still more for his declamations in the pulpit against the established regulations, he was first silenced, then confined to his house, and finally committed to the Fleet. At length the dispute was terminated by a compromise, and he was consecrated on these conditions: that at court, or in his cathedral, he should wear the attire which the other bishops used; but that in all other places he should be permitted to exercise his discretion with respect to his apparel*. This termination was undoubtedly disgraceful to Hooper, since it was a tacit acknowledgment, either that he had pursued a long and fierce contention for a matter confessedly indifferent, or that he had at last submitted to a compliance which was sinful. With a deportment repulsively austere, he was remarkably ambitious of popularity, and, with apparent humility, he was not devoid of ostentation.

* “ Bishop Hooper was constrained to appear once in public, attired after the manner of other bishops, which, unless he had done, *some think* there was a contrivance to take away his life; for *his servant told me* that the duke of Suffolk sent such word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant of what was doing.” Fox’s Acts and Monuments. This passage requires no comment.

It is not, therefore, surprising that his conduct on this occasion should have lowered him in the public esteem; for while the first violence of his opposition was odious, his subsequent concession rendered him contemptible.

In the affair of the vestments Hooper not only failed to impose his opinion on the church, but was himself brought to conformity. In another point he appears to have gained the concurrence of the other prelates: disregarding the practice of antiquity, he seized the opportunity, in a sermon preached before the king, to suggest, that "the magistrate would do well to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ; that by this expedient the people would be cured of a false persuasion, which they had of a sacrifice to be done on the altars; and that while altars remained, both ignorant people and ignorant priests would always dream of sacrifice."

Ridley coincided, if not entirely, yet in a great measure, with this suggestion, and in his injunctions to the clergy of his diocess, commanded that the altars should be converted into tables, in order to turn the people from the superstition of the popish mass to the right use of the Lord's Supper. He directed that the table should be placed in such a part of the choir or chancel as was most convenient, so that the ministers and communicants might be separated from the rest of the people, and that all side altars should be removed. To show his own sentiments on this matter, and that, while he discountenanced superstition, he was not less averse from unauthorized novelties, he

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suffered the table in his own cathedral to stand in the place of the ancient altar, but removing the partition behind it, laid the choir open to the east. This arrangement was according to primitive custom; for the altar or table was placed in the middle of the chancel or choir, and the bishop with his presbyters had their seats behind it *.

The injunctions of Ridley were given in obedience to an order from the king and council, but that order experienced the decided resistance of many prelates. Day, bishop of Chichester, and Heath, bishop of Worcester, were deprived of their sees, for nonconformity in this matter, and were not only deprived, but after deprivation were imprisoned in the Fleet. Their release from prison was not a restoration to entire freedom, for Day was committed to the bishop of Ely, and Heath to the bishop of London, who were ordered by the king to use the deprived prelates as charity and discretion should suggest †.

The altar controversy having been afterwards unhappily renewed, will be discussed at greater length. The subject will be closed here by observing, that the superstitious use of the Lord's Supper, and the custom of private masses, rendered the alteration now adopted highly seasonable. How common, as well as how pernicious the abuses of this holy rite were, may be understood from the following passage in our excellent homily on the "Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ:" "We must then

* Bingham's *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, l. viii. c. 6. s. 11.

† Strype's *Mem. of Cranmer*.

take heed, lest of the memory, it be made a sacrifice; lest of a communion, it be made a private eating; lest, of two parts, we have but one; lest, applying it for the dead, we lose the fruit that be alive*.”

* Second Book of Homilies, hom. 15, part 1.

CHAPTER X.

Bucer's Animadversions on the Common Prayer.—His Death and Character.—Second Service Book of Edward VI.—Psalmody.—Articles of Religion.—Second Catechism of Edward VI.—Reformatio Legum.

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IN order to mark the progressive steps by which the church of England attained its final settlement, the historian is induced to pause at the epoch at which he is now arrived. By reverting to the advancement already made, he will perceive that much remained to be accomplished. He will be compelled to acknowledge that the reformation was complete only in respect to the separation of England from the see of Rome, but there was not an adequate form of ecclesiastical polity substituted in the room of that which, for wise reasons, had been abolished.

There were undoubtedly homilies set forth by public authority, but they were insufficient for the purposes of instruction and edification: their compilation was dictated by the ignorance and superstition of the priesthood; and their use would be, in a great measure, superseded by the extemporaneous addresses, or the premeditated compositions, of a clergy competently learned. In contradistinction to the Romish priesthood, a reformed clergy would be a preaching ministry.

In the next place there was an authorized liturgy; but the first service book of Edward was

far from satisfying even its composers: many useless and superstitious ceremonies were injudiciously retained, and it was not until after a careful revisal that "the mass was cast out of the prayer book." There was also a catechism; but it was unsuited to popular instruction, considered as a manual for the unlearned and young, or as a guide to the Christian of more liberal education, and of riper age.

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All which had been attempted, either in regard of the homilies, the liturgy, or the catechism, only proved the necessity of attempting more, and many parts of the system had been as yet untouched. As yet there was no confession of faith, although the foreign protestant churches had long since laid down a standard of doctrine, and prescribed their terms of communion. As yet there was no ecclesiastical code, but the reformed church of England was governed by the pontifical law, corrected by the discretion of the judge, or restrained by the regal prerogative.

These deficiencies were not overlooked by Cranmer, and by those prelates and divines who shared his confidence and concurred in his views. Their plan of reformation was equally wise in its design and execution, and they provided remedies for those wants which were imminent and urgent. They began with a review of the liturgy, because errors or defects in a public form of worship are of all others the most dangerous, and the most difficult of correction. At the desire of Cranmer, the first service book had been submitted to the criticism of Bucer and Martyr; Alasco having

CHAP. translated it into Latin for the use of Bucer, while
 X. Martyr was furnished with a version by Cheke*.”

Assisted by the communications of Calvin, and the advice of Martyr, Bucer digested his animadversions on the service book in the form of a treatise†. In his prefatory epistle to the archbishop, he made a candid acknowledgment that, after a careful perusal of the liturgy, he had found nothing in it which was not founded on the word of God, or which, if interpreted fairly, was contrary to the Scriptures. Yet, after having made this concession, his exceptions were numerous; and though they were in many instances hypercritical, and in others groundless, they received from the English prelacy a candid and careful examination.

As to Bucer himself, he lived not long enough to see how far his suggestions were adopted; and if the fact be added, that he had not arrived in England when the first service book was finished, and that he died before the review of the second, a judgment may be formed of the extent to which the English liturgy is indebted to Bucer.

Far be it, however, from the historian to pass over, with frigid indifference, the character of a man whom his contemporaries have praised with the warmth of kindred genius. His high merit may be estimated from the honours paid to his memory by those who disagreed with him in religious sentiment, as well as from the regret expressed by those who were united to him by personal friend-

* Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, and Wheatley on the *Common Prayer*.

† The work is divided into twenty-eight chapters.

ship and similarity of opinion. By the direction of Cranmer and sir John Cheke, he was buried with the highest academical honours: the vice-chancellor, and all the graduates of the university, with the mayor and aldermen of the town, attending the funeral in solemn procession. Haddon, the university orator, composed a Latin speech in his praise, and pronounced it with a pathos which drew tears from the whole assembly. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, then master of Corpus Christi college, described his character, and lamented his death in an English discourse. Redmayn, the learned master of Trinity college, in a sermon delivered before the university, pronounced an appropriate and discriminating eulogy. After having commended the sweetness of temper for which Bucer was remarkable, Redmayn observed, that they had differed in many things, especially in their notions of justification, and the influence of divine grace: but as Bucer had satisfied his doubts in many points, so he believed that if death had not separated them, they might have agreed on many more, and he knew no man alive from whom he could learn so much as he had learned from Bucer. The memory of this learned foreigner was honoured by more than barren praises: he died in extreme poverty, leaving no other property than his library; but private liberality and the royal bounty were exercised towards his widow. The stipend of the professorship was paid to her for some time after the death of her husband, and the chair was not filled. Cheke informed the university, of which Bucer had been so great an ornament, that the king would endeavour to provide a

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successor, but one equal to Bucer could scarcely be found *. Melancthon was once more invited to England, with an offer of the station which Bucer had adorned †; but the invitation was declined, and the loss of Bucer was irreparable.

When the book of common prayer was submitted a second time to the review of the English prelates and divines, the animadversions of the foreign reformers concentrated in the treatise of Bucer, were dispassionately considered. Calvin had mentioned the English liturgy with disrespect in his letter to the protector; and in his epistles to Bullinger, and even to Cranmer, he treated the whole English reformation with contempt. The objections of Bucer may therefore be considered as the objections of Calvin: that they were received with due attention is certain, but it is equally certain that they were not followed with implicit submission. While the service book was under a revisal, Cran-

January 10. mer intimated to Peter Martyr that many alterations were concluded, but what these corrections were Martyr was ignorant, and he dared not assume the liberty to inquire ‡.

Before any alterations in the liturgy are noticed, it is proper to notice the change made, in the second service book, of the place appointed for reading the morning and evening prayer. Divine service was always performed in the choir or chancel, and the first service book of Edward, in concurrence with primitive custom, directed that the priest should

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 24.

† Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. folio edit. b. i. c. 29.

‡ Strype's Life of Cranmer, and Collier's Eccles. History, vol. ii. b. 4.

still officiate in the choir. His station was near the altar, towards which, whether standing or kneeling, he always turned his face in the prayers, though, while he was reading the Scriptures, or addressing the congregation, he turned to the people. Against this practice Bucer, by the direction of Calvin, strongly objected, urging that it was a most antichristian custom for the priest to say prayers only in the choir, as a place peculiar to the clergy, and not in the nave among the people, who had as much right to divine worship as the clergy themselves. He therefore strenuously insisted, that to read divine service in the chancel was an insufferable abuse, and ought immediately to be amended, if the whole nation would not be guilty of high treason against God*. These remonstrances, of whatever value they might be, prevailed so far that, in the second service book, the morning and evening prayer were directed to be sung or said in such part of the church or chancel as the people might best hear, and the minister was so to turn himself as he might be heard most conveniently by the people†.

Calvin had less success in his cavils against the separation of the chancel from the church, than in his objections against the celebration of divine service in the chancel; though Bucer inveighed with the greatest vehemence against the separation. He called it an antichristian practice, tending only to gain an undue reverence for the clergy, who would thereby seem to be more nearly related to God

* Bucer. Cens. c. 5.

† Rubric before the beginning of morning prayer, in the second book of king Edward.

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than the laity; he also asserted that the primitive churches were built in a round form, and that the place for the clergy was always in the middle, and that the division of the chancel from the church was another article of high treason against God. But this objection received no greater attention than it deserved; for, instead of an order to demolish all chancels, as was expected, a clause was added at the end of the first rubric to prevent any alteration, enjoining that “the chancels should remain as they had done in times past.”

Another great source of contention was not only concerning the two names of altar and table, but concerning the position of the table, and in what part of the chancel or church it should stand. Difference of opinion on this point caused a correspondent diversity of practice. In some churches the table remained in its ancient place, in others it was removed into the church; in some places it stood altar-wise, or north and south, and in others like a common table, east and west. The rubric of the second service book so far complied with the objections of Bucer, that the table was enjoined to stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning and evening prayer were appointed to be said; but the table was still to stand altar-wise, because the priest, or the principal minister, was directed to stand at the north side of the table; an injunction which could have no significance if the table were not placed north and south.

The ministerial habits which the first service book had enjoined, but which had excited the displeasure of Calvin and of Bucer, among the foreign

divines, and of Hooper, at the head of no inconsiderable number of English dissentients, were not altogether abolished, but were rendered more simple. The rubrics prescribing the use of the ancient habits were omitted, and the following direction substituted: "The minister, at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall have neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but, being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

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The corrections in the body of the liturgy were numerous, and for the most part executed with judgment. The daily morning and evening service began with the Lord's prayer; but now this commencement was thought abrupt. Prayer requires so much attention and composure of mind, that it can never be well performed without some preparation*, and therefore it was thought that some well chosen sentences of Scripture might be useful in producing this self-recollection. A short exhortation was introduced to apply the preceding sentences, and to prepare the way for a general confession of sins. This was consonant to the practice of the primitive Christians, who, immediately on entering the house of prayer, made confession of their sins to God, every man pronouncing his own particular confession with his own mouth†. The English reformers intended that those who uttered the confession should not content themselves with a bare recital of the words, but should

* Wheatley on the Common Prayer, c. iii.

† Basil. ad Clerum Neocæsaricum, ep. lxiii.

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mentally join with the words a confession of their private sins to God. But if the public form had been more particular and express, it would not so well have answered the general end for which it was designed.

The congregation having thus humbled themselves before God, a general absolution, or a declaration of pardon, was to be pronounced by the priest, in the name of God, to all who joined sincere repentance with unfeigned faith. The form of this absolution is declaratory and conditional ; which, without giving up the power of the priesthood to bind or loose, is more suitable to the nature of divine worship than the absolute and unqualified pardon given to penitents after confession by the church of Rome.

As the daily service was supplied with an appropriate introduction, the communion office was improved by a similar addition. It was found that the people often came to this holy ordinance without due seriousness and preparation ; and for the purpose of awakening the conscience, the communion office of the revised liturgy began with the Lord's prayer, and a collect for purity. The last collect was not new, for it was in the oldest offices of the western church, but it was now inserted in this place, as a fit preface to the decalogue. The divine precepts of the moral law being not less obligatory on Christians than on Jews, the ten commandments were to be solemnly pronounced by the priest standing, and turning himself to the people ; and a pause was to intervene between each commandment, that the people might implore pardon for their past transgressions of every particular

precept, and grace to observe it in future. The insertion of the decalogue in the communion office is an innovation, not only on the Romish missal, but on every other ancient liturgy, and is a peculiarity of the English church; but it is an innovation of which the propriety is evident. It was the best method that could be devised, under the existing relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, to excite penitence, and induce self-examination.

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The other alterations occurred principally in the occasional offices of the liturgy, and in the rubrics of the communion office. The posture of kneeling at the time of receiving was retained, and an explanatory rubric was added, that by this posture was not intended any adoration of the bread and wine, but only a reverential acknowledgment of the mercies of God in the death of Christ. In the occasional offices, some rites which savoured of superstition were either formally abolished, or their practice was no longer enjoined. The use of oil, and of the cross in confirmation; the Romish sacrament of extreme unction; the practice of exorcisms, and of repeated crossings at baptism; the prayers for departed souls, both in the burial and communion office, were all expunged from the second service book.

A principle was now attempted to be established, which, if acted on to its full extent, would have totally changed a material part of divine worship, that of psalmody. A provision had been inserted in the statute for the uniformity of divine service*, making it lawful for all men, as well in churches,

* Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 5.

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The use of psalms and hymns in divine worship was sanctioned by the example of Christ himself, and was distinctly recommended by his apostles. That it was adopted by the primitive Christians is certain, and the testimony of Pliny is not only decisive as to the fact, but as to the mode of singing. It was amabæn, or in the form of antiphone; for that this was the meaning of Pliny* is proved from Saint Basil, who relates, that after confession the congregation proceeded to singing psalms, and, dividing itself into two parts, sang by turns†.

Magnificent were the commendations bestowed by the fathers on sacred music. Augustin testifies of himself, that it elevated his affections, and occasioned a pleasure rapturous and refined. It was intended to assist human infirmities, since harmony takes hold of the mind, and makes its way, where a bare recitation of the words would never enter. He freely acknowledges that sounds have an ascendant over the mind, and that where they are suited to the occasion, the effect is favourable to piety‡.

But sacred music, like every other divine gift, is liable to abuse; and its abuse gave rise to a doubt

* *Secum invicem.* Plin. Ep. l. 10. ep. 97.

† Basil. ep. 63, ad Cler. Eccl. Neocæs.

‡ Augustin. Confess. b. ix. c. 4. and b. x. c. 33.

concerning its lawfulness. Augustin himself, who expatiated so eloquently on its power and utility, seems afraid to trust his passions with so fascinating a pleasure, and commends the plainer method of singing practised by Athanasius in the church of Alexandria*. This bishop directed the psalms to be sung with a moderate inflection of voice, so as to resemble reading rather than singing. With due respect for the orthodoxy of Athanasius, his scruples were unreasonable, and his directions were injudicious, and he would have acted more consistently by proscribing sacred music altogether.

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The church of Rome, attentive to the external splendour and impressiveness of divine worship, had bestowed uncommon care on the regulation of psalmody. It was the subject of a canon, at a synod under pope Gregory the Great, and the Gregorian chant was celebrated for its pathos.

The foreign reformers, fixing their attention on the abuses of sacred music, and observing the excessive and scrupulous solicitude with which the art was cultivated in the Romish church, applied themselves, with better intentions than judgment, to reduce it to greater plainness. To moderate the time consumed in this part of divine worship was an object of their concern, where they could not entirely banish it from their religious assemblies; and the Helvetic confession contains a censure on the Gregorian chant, and a commendation of its rejection by many of the protestant churches†.

The church of England, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, was too much guided by foreign in-

* Augustin. Confess. l. x. c. 33.

† Section 23.

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fluence, to prevent a tendency to assimilation with the customs of foreign protestants; and a statute of this reign contains a condemnation of the antiphone. Yet, while an absurd law stigmatized all refinement in music, and while a corrupt taste repudiated harmony as sinful, a gross violation of simplicity and nature was committed by countenancing a new metrical version of the psalms. An attempt had already been made to translate the psalms by Clement Marot, groom of the bed-chamber to Francis the First*; and Sternhold, who occupied a similar station in the household of Edward the Sixth, applied himself to the same undertaking†. The translation of Marot was used in those French churches which were reformed after the model of Geneva, and that of Sternhold was chiefly approved by those English who affected the Genevan discipline and worship.

The performance of Sternhold, though it professed to be allowed by authority, was never sanctioned, either by the crown or the convocation, and it was opposed by the private judgment of many great prelates‡. They justly feared that the introduction of this barbarous translation might captivate the ignorant, and lessen their regard for the other parts of the liturgy; and experience proved that their apprehensions were founded on a knowledge of human nature.

The second service book of Edward suffered a

* Heylin's History of the Reformation.

† Sternhold translated only thirty-seven psalms: the rest were done by Hopkins, and others. Those marked with the initials W. W. were done by one William Wisdom.

+ Heylin's Animadversions on Fuller's Church History.

material injury from this vitiation of devotional feeling. In the first Common Prayer book, before every collect, epistle, and gospel, a psalm was prefixed, appropriate to the Sunday or holyday. It was appointed to be sung or said while the priest made his entrance within the rails of the altar, and, from this circumstance, derived its common appellation of "introit." The use of introits to begin the communion service was known in the Christian church before the time of Jerome*, and their propriety is as unquestionable as their antiquity is undisputed. Their absence is now sensibly felt, and is inadequately supplied by an unvaried anthem, or an unmeaning overture, in cathedrals, and by the frequently improper selection of a psalm in parish churches. According to the first liturgy, while the whole psalter was read through every month, in the morning and evening service; the most edifying parts were repeated on Sundays and the other solemn days observed by the church.

Before the established service book could be legally superseded by the revised liturgy, the sanction of parliament was requisite. In the next session, which did not take place until after a prorogation of two years, an act was passed for the uniformity of the Common Prayer, and the administration of the sacraments†. An honourable testimony was given to the first service book, in the act by which it was abolished, that it was formed on the doctrine of the Scriptures, and the

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* Durand. Rational. l. vi. c. 2.

† Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 1.

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practice of antiquity. But, because many doubts had arisen concerning the form of divine service, which proceeded rather from “the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers than from any worthy cause, the king had commanded the book of Common Prayer to be faithfully perused and made perfect.” By the same act, the ordinal for making archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, was annexed to the bill, and was enacted to be of equal force with the book of Common Prayer.

As the first service book was not established without a strong opposition in the house of lords, so the revised liturgy called forth a protest, and the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, with the barons Stourton and Windsor recorded their dissent*.

When the liturgy had been completed and established by the authority of parliament, and when it was found that the majority of the prelacy was favourable to the reformation; then, and not before, was the opportunity arrived to prepare a national confession of faith. It was a work which had been already accomplished by the other reformed churches. Sixteen years had elapsed since the Helvetic confession had appeared, at a time when an expectation of a general council was prevalent, and more than twenty years had expired since the Germanic princes presented their confession to the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at the diet of Augsburg. It was the opinion of many, that a confession of faith should have been the first step in the reformation of the English church, since

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* Journals of the House of Lords.

the order would be more natural that the articles should precede the liturgy, and that the liturgy should be framed in harmony with the articles. Bucer had often urged on Cranmer the necessity of the undertaking; but Cranmer wisely postponed it until he could secure the unanimity of the chief pastors of the church. He thought justly, that the most pernicious errors were those which corrupted the purity of divine worship; errors which were of general concernment, and of practical import. Articles of faith necessarily comprehended a variety of speculative points on which unanimity could not be expected, and it was preferable that these questions should be thoroughly ventilated in disputation and controversy, before they were determined by authority, and imposed as articles of faith. These were the reasons which had induced Cranmer to delay the work; but these reasons were now counteracted by others which it was impossible to resist.

The long expected general council of Trent, which the emperor had urged with repeated and importunate solicitation on Clement and his successor, was, in consequence of the same instigation, convoked by Julius the Third. Its early deliberations, under Paul the Third, instead of reconciling differences between the papists and protestants, had widened the breach, and made it irreparable. Having begun by examining the chief point in controversy between the church of Rome and the reformers, concerning the rule of faith, the council had decreed by its infallible authority, that the apocryphal books were of equal authority with

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1551. When the council was renewed under the pontificate of Julius the Third, the emperor had promised, in a diet previously assembled at Augsburg, that he would use his utmost exertions towards the promotion of moderation, impartiality, and charity, in the approaching representative assembly of the Christian church. The protestant churches, distrusting his professions, prepared for the events which they foresaw. The Saxons employed the pen of Melancthon, and the Wurtembergers that of Bredtius, to draw up confessions of their faith, which were to be laid before the council.

England, which had declined to participate in the council of Trent, had also refused to adopt the confession of Augsburg. At this crisis, therefore, it was expedient that the creed of the church of England should be ascertained and promulgated, that the grounds, both of its separation from the

church of Rome might be clearly known, and also of its dissent from the doctrine and discipline of the reformed churches.

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The undertaking was begun by Cranmer, in pursuance of an order which he received from the king and council, to draw a book of articles for preserving the peace and unity of the church; and the outline of the system is supposed to have been executed by the hand of the primate himself. This imperfect sketch was submitted to the examination of those prelates and divines who enjoyed the confidence of Cranmer; and common fame has particularized Ridley and Cox as his chief associates. No farther progress was made until the ensuing year, when the council demanded from the archbishop the articles which he had been enjoined to prepare. They were accordingly sent, but were soon returned to their author, who digested them into a better method, distinguished them by titles, and added a few supplemental passages where they were too short*.

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After this second revisal, Cranmer presented the articles to the king, praying that they might be promulged with the sanction of his authority. This sanction was delayed, till they had been submitted to the inspection, not of the most profound divines, but of the most popular preachers. A letter was directed by the king to Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Perne, and Knox, requiring them to peruse these articles, and to make a report of their opinion†.

In what manner the articles were received by

* Collier's Eccles. History, v. ii. b. 4.

† Ibid.

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such referees it is impossible to say; but the archbishop received them again from the privy council with an injunction to give them a third review, and to bestow on them “the last corrections of his judgment and his pen*.” The archbishop, having made some farther remarks, enclosed the articles in a letter to the privy council, soliciting that the bishops might be authorized to receive the subscription of the clergy within their respective diocesses. If this measure were adopted, such a harmony in religion might be expected to follow as could not otherwise take place for a number of years†.

When the articles were submitted to the convocation, it does not appear that they were introduced for the purpose of discussion, but only of receiving the subscription of its members. The title of the articles induces a supposition that they had been agreed on in convocation, and the inference is probable, that the two houses had transferred their authority to a committee, and that the committee assented to the articles in the name of the whole convocation. There is no doubt, however, that they emanated from royal authority. The king sent a mandate to the archbishop, both to publish the articles, and to cause them to be subscribed; and although the mandate itself has not been preserved, yet the certificate of its execution by the archbishop is still in existence. In the archiepiscopal injunction to the bishop of Norwich, which has been also preserved, all the clergy

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. b. 4.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, Appendix. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 4.

were required to subscribe before their admission to any benefice or cure*.

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In addition to the evidence from the registers of Canterbury, an injunction from the visitors of the university of Cambridge remains, purporting that, as the articles had been promulgated by royal authority, and delivered to all the bishops for the better government of their diocesses, they enjoined, by virtue of their visitatorial authority, all doctors, and bachelors of divinity, and all masters of arts, publicly to subscribe the articles before admission to their degrees, and that, in case of refusal to subscribe, the degree for which the candidate supplicated should be denied†.

It belongs to the present work to consider the articles with respect to their history rather than their substance; but a few remarks on their subject-matter cannot be deemed unseasonable, and can be scarcely called a digression. These articles constitute the basis of the articles set forth by the authority of convocation in the reign of Elizabeth, and still adopted as the confession of faith in the church of England.

The framers of the English articles appear to have examined the other protestant confessions of faith then in existence, but not to have adopted them implicitly, or even to have followed their method and arrangement. The English confession, when compared with the Helvetic, the Augsburg, or the Saxon, differs in its form: it is

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. b. 4. Appendix, No. 8.

† Ibid. No. 9.

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strictly dogmatical, and not, like these foreign confessions, argumentative or parenetic. The Helvetic confession having been framed in consequence of the expectation of a general council, and the Saxon having been drawn up in an interval between the session of the council of Trent, had a particular reference to the controversial points discussed and determined in that assembly. The English confession, while it freely declared its sense on the authority of general councils, of tradition, and of the holy Scriptures, in opposition to the decrees of the council of Trent, was principally designed to condemn some popular errors at this time current in England.

On those abstruse points of metaphysical theology, which at this period distracted the peace of the Christian church, the English confession has preserved a moderation peculiar to itself, differing from the Augsburg confession, which on some of these points has preserved an entire silence. Original sin is defined to be the inherent corruption of all the descendants of Adam, in opposition to the Pelagians and the anabaptists*. On the subject of free-will it agrees with the Augsburg confession, and the Erudition of a Christian Man, in asserting that, although man has such a natural free-will that he may perform acts of moral obedience and legal justice; yet without preventing and co-operating grace, he has no power “to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God.” But lest the influence of divine grace should appear inconsistent with the free agency of man, a caution

* The anabaptists were omitted in the articles of Elizabeth.

is added, that, “ the grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost,” offers no violence to the human will*.

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No man can excuse his sins by alleging that he is constrained to sin, and therefore is not liable to condemnation.

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On the doctrine of predestination, which the Augsburg confession has altogether omitted, and which the Necessary Erudition has treated with the same censure of its discussion, the English confession has been more explicit†. Personal election is clearly maintained, but not that absolute, irrelative election, which is taught in the Helvetic confession‡. The progress and completion of election are by the following gradations: a divine call, obedience to that call, gratuitous justification, adoption, conformity to the divine image, practice of good works, and, finally, everlasting felicity. But, to prevent all fruitless and impious inquiries, a caution is subjoined, that the doctrine of predestination, however consolatory and useful to the spiritually minded, is highly dangerous to the carnal. It is generally an unprofitable subject of contemplation, and it is always an unsafe rule of conduct.

In this manner was the doctrine of the church reduced to a short and plain form, happily avoiding the subtle distinctions of schoolmen, and the peremptory tone of controversialists. If some

* Art. 10. This article is omitted in the articles of Elizabeth.

† Art. 17.

‡ Deus ab æterno predestinavit vel elegit liberè et merâ suâ gratiâ, nullo hominum respectu, sanctos quos vult salvos facere in Christo. Helv. Con. s. 10.

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points of "doubtful disputation" could not be entirely omitted, in compliance with the clamour of the times*, yet they are treated with such temper and moderation that the articles may be conscientiously subscribed by men of opposite opinions†.

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The articles were intended to regulate the belief and preaching of the clergy, but a summary of the Christian faith was still wanted for the use of the people, and that deficiency was supplied by "The Second Catechism of King Edward." It was the last authorized formulary in this reign, whence it may be fairly understood to contain, as far as it goes, the ultimate decision of the reformers, and to represent the sense of the church of England as then established‡. It was in effect a public work, its examination having been committed to "certain bishops and other learned men." Yet although it was submitted to the revisal of many, in the language of the prefatory injunction, it was "written by a certain godly and learned man." Who this individual was it has not been ascertained, although Poinet, bishop of Winchester, has the best claim to the distinction; but whoever might be its author, Cranmer recommended it to the notice of the king, and consequently to public use||. It was printed both in English and Latin, and was enjoined to be taught in schools, as a sequel to

* "Predestination was a part of the clamour of the times, so it is mentioned in our articles, but with as little positiveness as could be." Dr. Johnson. Boswell's Life, vol. ii. p. 100. ed. 8vo. 8th ed.

† Pullen's Moderation of the Church of England.

‡ Bishop Randolph's Preface to king Edward's Catechism in the Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. i.

|| Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 24.

the other brief catechism set forth in the beginning of this reign. 

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The second catechism of king Edward differs from the first in its form, for it is in question and answer. This, as the formulary itself asserts, is the plainest way of teaching, which not only Socrates used in philosophy, but Apollinarius adopted in religion. A dialogue is the preferable mode of instruction, both for perspicuity and brevity.

The sum of the Christian religion is reduced in the catechism to two points: true faith in God, and an assured persuasion of all those things which are contained in the holy Scriptures; and charity, which belongs both to God and our neighbour. The creed, or symbol of the Christian's belief, is stated to be an abridgement or sum of the divine commands, and therefore the decalogue is rehearsed and explained before the creed. The divine law was engrafted by God in the nature of man, while nature was yet sound; but, by original sin and evil custom, the image of God was so darkened in him, that of himself he did not understand the difference between right and wrong. God therefore, to renew this image, gave to man a written law, that he might see as in a glass the weakness and corruption of his nature, and thereby be inclined to lay hold on a Saviour and his atoning merits. No man is made righteous by the law, for no man is able to fulfil the law.

After the decalogue follows an explanation of the creed, by which Christians attain a knowledge of their duty, and the catechism then defines the true service of God to consist in hearing the gospel, in the use of the sacraments, and in prayer. The

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sacraments are reckoned two, baptism and the Lord's supper. The Lord's prayer is prescribed as the model of our devotions, and a short paraphrase of it succeeds. The manual concludes with some excellent practical directions given to the scholar by the master or catechist.

If Poinet were the author of this catechism, the merit of this single production is sufficient to rescue his other writings from oblivion. It undoubtedly passed the revision of Ridley, whose commendation was expressed in strong but not in extravagant terms. He has given the highest and the best testimony in favour of this, and of the other labours of the reformers in the reign of Edward, which has the weight not only of a deliberate but of a dying attestation.

“ This church had of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant mercy of God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true and sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's holy religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism to have been learned of all true Christians. The church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said, and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned by the true vein of the holy Scriptures, but also set forth according

to the commandment of our Lord, and Saint Paul's doctrine, for the edification of the people in the vulgar tongue. It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture, and likewise the homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices, that use, alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had, in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time, if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church much concord and amity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies wherewith this church, alas! was almost overgone*."

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One part of the reformed system remained to be established, although brought to a completion, that which related to the government of the church. A code of ecclesiastical law had long engaged the attention of Cranmer, and he had laboured to accomplish his design at the commencement of his primacy. In that statute, which recited the submission of the clergy, a reform of the whole body of the canon law was provided, and even in the reign of Henry a commission had been appointed, in pursuance of the statute, and some progress had been made in the undertaking. After the statute of the six articles, the work was suspended, but not formally abandoned; for Cranmer often urged its necessity, and made an extract of certain passages

* Farewell of Ridley, in Fox's Life and Monuments.

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 X. it ought not to be studied any longer in Eng-
 land*.

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 November.

At the beginning of the present reign, a commission was appointed, consisting of thirty-two persons, and three years were allowed for the accomplishment of the work. But it was still retarded by various impediments, until at length, to facilitate its execution, a sub-committee was chosen of eight †, who were to prepare the code for the revisal of the thirty-two commissioners. The sub-committee, like the body whence it was elected, was divided into four classes, bishops, divines, canonists, and common lawyers†. From the finished state of the “*Reformatio Legum*,” it is probable that the labours of the sub-committee had been reviewed and approved of by the commissioners: it was ready to be submitted to the king; but, before it could receive the royal confirmation, the king died, and the project died with him.

1552.
 February.

The work consequently is not, and never was, of any authority; but still it is a valuable record, and throws a clear light on the views of the reformers. It is not only a decisive evidence of their plans

* Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. b. 3. App. No. 27.

† These eight were, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Ely, in the first class; Dr. Cox and Peter Martyr in the second; Dr. May and Dr. Taylor in the third; and John Lucas and Richard Goodrich in the fourth. The bishop of London was substituted for the bishop of Ely; and Bartholomew Traheron, afterward lecturer of divinity to the English church at Frankfort, was chosen in the room of Goodrich.

with respect to canonical jurisprudence, but of their opinions on Christian doctrine*.

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The “*Reformatio Legum*” is introduced by the two commissions of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, and they are followed by a preface†, unfolding the plan of the work, and giving an account of its authors. Though Cranmer did not execute the whole, yet he gave an impulse and direction to the abilities of his colleagues‡, and the result of his diligent superintendence, as it is displayed in the work itself, justifies the character given of him, that he was the greatest canonist in England. It was originally written, or at least the greater part, in English; but Haddon, the king’s professor of civil law at Cambridge, was employed to translate it into Latin§. Haddon most probably availed himself of the assistance of Cheke||, and these two translators imitated the style of the Pandects, with a felicity which cannot be found in the decrees of Gratian.

After the account which has been given of the introduction of the canon law, a curiosity is excited to learn the notions of the reformers on ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The necessity of such a code, and

* It was not printed till the reign of Elizabeth, but it was the work of this reign, and consequently ought to be placed here.

† The preface is marked by the initials J. F. The edition of 1641 is here quoted; but there are two editions of prior date in the Bodleian library.

‡ *Summa negotii præfuit Thomas Cranmerus, archiepiscopus Cantuar. Præf. Reform. Legum.*

§ *Orationis lumen et splendorem addidit Gualterus Haddon. Ibid.*

|| *Quin nec satis scio an Johannis Checi viri singularis eidem negotio adjutrix adfuerit manus. Ibid.*

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the decay of ecclesiastical discipline, occasioned by its absence, were topics on which the foreign protestants strongly insisted. Calvin was loud in his complaints on the profligacy and impiety of the times, which he invariably attributed to the laxity of the pastors of the church in enforcing spiritual censures. Bucer, in the year of his death, had dedicated to the king his book "On the Kingdom of Christ;" a treatise written with great ability, and offering useful suggestions on civil and ecclesiastical polity. Many parts of this treatise were incorporated in the "Reformatio Legum."

The new ecclesiastical code was digested into fifty-one titles, to bring it to a similarity with the number of the books contained in the Pandects of Justinian. The two first titles, "Of the Trinity and the Catholic Faith," and "Of Heresies," are of the greatest importance, since they relate to Christian doctrine. They are, in fact, a comment or gloss on the articles of religion, and a commentary of undisputed authority, because supplied by the composers of those articles.

The first title, "Of the Trinity," corresponds with the article*; and those who denied the Christian religion were to suffer death, with loss of goods. The books of Scripture are enumerated†, and the apocryphal books are distinguished from the canonical; and though the former were allowed to be read in the church, yet it was only for instruction, and not for the establishment of any article of faith. The power of the church is subjected to the rule of Scripture‡; the four first

* Article 1.

† Article 5.

‡ Article 21.

general councils are admitted to be orthodox, but all councils are to be guided by the rule of Scripture*. The writings of the fathers, though deserving esteem and reverence, are to be submitted to the same scriptural test.

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Such is the scope of the first title, and in it are recited many of the articles on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The second title, "Of Heresies," is, if possible, more valuable, because it illustrates those articles which are of a controversial kind. It is divided into twenty-one chapters. The seventh chapter, "On Original Sin, Free Will, and Justification," is nearly a literal transcript of the articles on those abstruse points†. The eleventh chapter almost verbally agrees with the article entitled, "Everlasting Salvation to be obtained only through the Name of Christ‡." The ninth chapter bears the title, "Of the falling away of those who are justified, and of Sin against the Holy Ghost," and it resembles, or rather is an enlargement of, the article "Of Sin against the Holy Ghost §." It condemns the common opinion that those who have been once justified cannot fall into sin, or, if they commit any act contrary to the laws of God, that God will not impute it to them as sin. But the converse of this error is not less severely censured, that every wilful sin committed after baptism is not to be pardoned, as being a sin against the Holy Ghost.

The twenty-second chapter of the *Reformatio Legum*, "On Predestination," is not only a confirmation of the article on that subject||, but clears

* Article 22. † Articles 8, 9, 10. ‡ Article 18.

§ Article 15.

|| Article 17.

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any obscurities in its language. It opens with a complaint that many, professing to be members of the church, men of vain curiosity, of profligate lives, and destitute of the Spirit of God, have made the subjects of predestination and rejection or reprobation the theme of their conversation. Maintaining that God has made an absolute decree concerning the salvation or perdition of every individual, such men have found a cover for their impieties and crimes. If their pastors remonstrated with them on the flagitiousness of their lives, they referred all their guilt to the will of God, and charged their wickedness on him, until, at last, they were led by the devil, either into despair, or into a dissolute and luxurious security*, without repentance, or even a consciousness of their crimes. These two evils, of despair and security, though of a different nature, lead to the same termination. The abuse of the doctrine of predestination having been thus pointed out, its true meaning is defined, after diligent and careful examination. The godly consideration of our predestination or election, which was determined of God before the foundations of the world, leads to a mortification of carnal desires, elevates the mind to heavenly things, excites gratitude towards God, impels to good works, and draws us away from works which are evil. It also lessens arrogance and confidence in our own strength. But an admonition is given that predestination cannot be pleaded in extenuation of sin, for God cannot appoint or decree in any

* The Latin of the article is "securitas," which is translated "wretchlessness," i. e. recklessness, carelessness.

matter that which is unjust, nor does he ever constrain our wills, or thrust us into sin against our own inclinations. For this reason all Christians are to be warned never to refer their undertakings and actions to the decrees of predestination. They should rather accommodate their conduct to the laws of God, since they perceive that the Scriptures propose, in general terms, promises to the good, and threatenings to the wicked. Therefore it is our duty to follow that will of God, which is plainly revealed to us in the holy Scriptures.

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Thus, while the seventeenth article is entirely silent concerning reprobation, the twenty-second chapter of the "Reformatio Legum" directly alludes to this error, and alludes to it only to pronounce its condemnation as a deadly heresy.

The third title relates to the manner in which heresy was to be punished. The trial was to proceed by the examination of witnesses; but the party accused might avail himself of compurgation. If he repented of his heresy, he was required to make a public profession of his repentance in those places where he had spread his errors. Obstinate heretics were to be declared infamous, and incapable of public trust; of being witnesses in a court of justice, and of making a will. Clerks falling into heresy were to be deprived of their benefices. The fourth title related to blasphemy, which was to be punished in the same manner as heresy.

These were some of the laws to guard the purity of Christian doctrine; but there were others of a civil, or of a mixed nature. The laws of matrimony, adultery, and divorce, were entirely altered. In the first place, all the canonical regulations

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with respect to precontracts and espousals were abrogated. But to prevent the evil consequences which might arise to young women who yielded to the solicitations of designing men, the penalty of excommunication was denounced against the offenders; and in case of refusal to marry any woman whom they had seduced, they were to forfeit to her a third part of their goods. The marriages of minors and orphans, if contracted without the consent of their parents and guardians, were declared void; but in case the parents or guardians refused consent without a just cause, the ecclesiastical judge was to decide concerning the propriety of the union. All marriages were prohibited between persons related within the Levitical degrees; for the Levitical law in regard to marriage was declared to be obligatory on all Christians. It was consequently impious for the Roman pontiff to dispense with the prohibitions of the law of God*.

The greatest innovation, and perhaps the greatest improvement, on the pontifical law, was on the subject of divorce. Separation *a mensa et thoro*, unless pending a trial, was entirely abolished, as being productive of great abuses and scandal in the marriage state. This kind of separation was grounded on the principle of the indissolubility of the marriage tie; while it favoured the dissolution of marriage with respect to every purpose of its institution†.

* Tit. 9.

† Tit. 10. While the reformers were projecting this change in the law of divorce, the case of the marquis of Northampton came under discussion.

Purgation was allowed by the reformed code, and the manner of it was prescribed. It was allowed only in case of strong presumptions; for when there was legal proof of a crime, there was no room for purgation. Clerks who were convicted of any crime in the temporal courts, were not to be admitted to purgation in the spiritual. All superstitious purgations, though supported by ancient custom, were to be done away, such as duels, hot iron, or hot water*.

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Many of the titles relate to the internal economy of the church, and especially to the regulations of divine worship. Wills were still subjected to the ecclesiastical judicature, and an article which gave rise to contests between the temporal and spiritual courts was adjusted. Breach of faith was considered in the pontifical law as a moral offence not less than a civil injury. The reformed code determined that breach of faith, whether on a matter of a spiritual or a secular nature, was under the cognizance of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Whatever agreements or promises were not performed, in all cases where an oath was taken, or even a solemn affirmation was made, the offenders might be pursued with ecclesiastical censures, and compelled to make satisfaction to the parties who were deceived by their perfidy.

Excommunication was still retained, as a power granted by God to the church for removing scandalous or corrupt persons from its communion. This power of the keys was granted by Christ himself; and the end of it is to maintain the authority of the society, to strike terror into delin-

* Tit. 14.

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quents, and to bring them to reformation. Spiritual censure was not to be used, unless in cases of extremity; in great crimes, such as strike at the root of all religion, or are a flagrant violation of morality. A whole society or corporation was not liable to excommunication, because in all collective bodies there is a variety of individuals, and it is not right that the innocent should suffer for the guilty. As excommunication was not to be applied to light offences, so it was never to be pronounced without due solemnity. It was desirable that the consent of the whole provincial church should intervene; but, since that was impracticable, the ecclesiastical judge, when he passed sentence, was to be assisted by three neighbouring priests, besides the minister of the parish where the delinquent lived, and also by a justice of the peace. When sentence had been pronounced, it was to be notified in the parish church where the offender lived, and also in the neighbouring parishes. If the excommunicated person continued forty days under the censure without repentance, his contumacy was to be certified to the court of chancery, and a writ was thereupon to issue for his imprisonment, until he made his peace with the church*.

On a review of the “*Reformatio Legum*,” the conclusion must be drawn, that the reformed code had incorporated a large portion of the substance, and had imbibed a larger portion of the spirit, of the pontifical law. Another conclusion must not be suppressed, that the reformers did not entertain those latitudinarian notions of a Christian church

* Tit. 30.

which they have been commonly supposed to entertain. Erastus, a German divine, had about this time promulgated the doctrine that Christ and his apostles had prescribed no particular form of church government, and that the Christian ministry was not of divine institution. He maintained that the authority of a Christian minister was derived solely from the civil magistrate—that the ministerial office was merely suasory, and that coercion was not within its province; in fact, Erastus formally renounced the power of the keys. Cranmer was at one time of his life suspected of inclining to these opinions, but he must have renounced them before this period. The authors of the “*Reformatio Legum*” were not Erastians.

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CHAPTER XI.

Influence of Northumberland, and Settlement of the Crown by Edward on Lady Jane Grey.—Conduct of Cranmer.—Death of Edward.—Succession of Mary, after an unsuccessful Effort of Northumberland to place Lady Jane Grey on the Throne.—His Trial and Execution.—The deprived Bishops restored.—Gardiner made Lord Chancellor.—Cranmer and other Protestant Bishops sent to the Tower.—Coronation of Mary.—Parliament assembles, and confirms the Queen's Legitimacy.—Statutes of Edward VI. concerning Religion repealed.—Proceedings in Convocation.—Reginald Pole appointed Legate by Paul III.—Wyatt's Rebellion, and Execution of Jane Grey.—Marriage of Mary with Philip, Son of the Emperor Charles V.

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— If the “*Reformatio Legum*” had received the royal confirmation, the ecclesiastical polity would have harmonized in all its parts. It had undergone a complete change in its liturgy, in its creed, in its catechism, and in every thing but its legal code; and as the system was reformed, its ministers had assumed a different character. The celibacy of the clergy was no longer enjoined, for two statutes had passed, after a strong resistance, allowing the marriage of priests, the one by connivance* and the other by direct permission†. The clergy were now associated with the rest of the community; they had a reciprocity of interests, and the same ties; they no longer composed one great family

* Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 1. † 6 Edw. VI. c. 12.

relegated from the ordinary duties, and separated from the *charities*, of life.

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Viewing the reformation of Edward as a whole, whatever justice there might be in the complaint that it had proceeded too far, the censure was unreasonable that it had not proceeded far enough, and that it was only the commencement of reform. The concession of a candid foreigner * is conclusive. He freely allowed that the reformation of Edward had satisfied the pious. If so, enough had been done; for what reformation would have satisfied the fanatical, the licentious, and the profane?

From the time when the duke of Somerset had declined in the favour of Edward, the earl of Warwick had gradually advanced in power and influence, until he was able to destroy his former rival. Among his other honours he had been created duke of Northumberland, the earldom having lately become extinct. In parliament his authority was almost despotic; he had a large majority in the house of lords, and, by calling a new parliament, he expected to gain an ascendant in the house of commons.

As a proof of his influence and his ambition, he procured an act for the suppression of the bishopric of Durham†. Tonsal had been deprived of his see, and committed to the Tower on an unproved charge of misprision of treason, and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishopric was to be divided, while its temporalities were to be alienated. It was to be secularized; to be converted into a

March 1.

* Bullinger.

† Stat. 7 Edw. VI.

CHAP. county palatine, and granted to the duke of North-
XI. umberland.

To his aspiring views there were no bounds; and although it was impossible to gain the crown of England for himself, yet he endeavoured to settle it on his family by a contrivance as devoid of refinement as of justice.

By a statute passed in the reign of the late king, it was enacted that, in default of issue by prince Edward, the next heir; or, in case of Edward's death, in default of issue from the king's marriage with Catherine Howard; the crown should devolve on the lady Mary, his eldest daughter. In case of failure of issue from the lady Mary; or in case of her failure in observing such limitations or conditions as the king might declare by his letters patent; his second daughter, Elizabeth, and her heirs were named in the succession. In the event that both his daughters died without issue; or in case they neglected to fulfil the conditions prescribed by the king; the king was empowered to appoint an heir, either by his letters patent, or by his will, signed with his own hand.

By his last testament, Henry excluded the rightful line, that of Scotland, from the succession, and preferred the two daughters of the French queen by Charles Brandon. Of these daughters, the duchess of Suffolk was one; and to the eldest daughter of the duchess, lady Jane Grey, Northumberland had married his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley. The duchess of Suffolk was ready to relinquish her title in favour of this daughter, and in prejudice of any male issue which she might afterwards bear.

To establish even the semblance of an hereditary title in favour of lady Jane Grey was impossible. It was not strengthened by the assumption that the two daughters of Henry were illegitimate, for the issue of Charles Brandon was in a similar predicament: he was married to the French queen while his former wife was living, and his marriage with her was never dissolved. If the legitimacy of the duchess of Suffolk could be established, and if her hereditary claim was enforced by the testamentary disposition of Henry, she might herself have succeeded to the throne, but could not dispose of the crown to a daughter.

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Mary, who stood next in succession by the will of Henry, had been always treated by her father with respect, though she had never possessed a large share in his affection. While her mother lived, from duty, as well as from interest, she expressed a natural resentment at a divorce which stamped illegitimacy on herself, and incurred disgrace on her family. But when Catherine was no more, and when the rival who had supplanted her was also removed, Mary availed herself of the favourable crisis, and made a forcible appeal to the sympathy of her father and her sovereign. A general submission was readily offered, but not accepted; and, after some hesitation and delay, she was induced to make a submission of her judgment on three distinct articles: first, to acknowledge the king to be supreme head of the church of England, and to submit to the laws of the kingdom; secondly, to renounce the power and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; and, lastly, to

CHAP. acknowledge that the marriage between the king
XI. and her mother was incestuous and unlawful *.

These concessions were the foundation of a reconciliation; and as her expectations of succeeding to the crown were entirely defeated by the birth of Edward, she lived in the contented performance of religious exercises, and in the unmolested enjoyment of her religious creed. Her doctrinal creed was that of Henry, and if her renunciation of the papal supremacy were extorted, she had the prudence to conceal its insincerity.

On the accession of Edward, doctrinal Romanism, as well as the papal supremacy, was proscribed. The young king was persuaded by others, or had persuaded himself, that even a toleration of the religion of the Romish church was a toleration of idolatry, and that a toleration of idolatry was not less sinful in a Christian than in a Jewish king. Mary, however obsequious to her father, whom she dreaded, if she did not love, was not inclined to show the same deference to a brother in a state of nonage. She persisted in celebrating the Romish ritual in her family, and permitted more than her household to be present at the mass. This being considered an excess of liberty, her two chaplains were imprisoned, and though she laid a formal complaint of this rigorous treatment before the council, no redress was given. The king, in a personal conference, refused to grant any longer indulgence of her idolatrous worship; and the earnest solicitations of his council,

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. b. 2.

joined with the remonstrances of Cranmer and Ridley, could not prevail on him to relax the severity of the law, or to allow a temporary connivance at its violation.

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Mary was not less bigoted to her own opinions, and with equal force pleaded the rights of conscience: she fearlessly told the king that her soul was her own, and that she would neither change her faith nor dissemble in her practice. She applied to the emperor, and, through his interference, a compromise was agreed on; but it was soon broken. When the first service book was established by act of parliament, an attempt was made to bring the princess to conformity. The council reminded her that every article of the creed was common to both communions, and that the only difference between them was in the ceremonies and the use of the sacraments. In these particulars the English reformation had brought back divine worship to the rules of Scripture and the usage of the primitive church. The cause of dispute lay within a narrow compass, that the princess Mary pleaded for later custom against truth, and the English church for truth against custom*.

In this state of alienation between Edward and his sister Mary, Northumberland had little difficulty in persuading the young prince to exclude her, if possible, from the succession; but it is surprising that he could have been induced to pass over his sister Elizabeth. Nothing but the domineering influence of Northumberland over the tender and declining mind of the king could have induced

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. b. 4.

CHAP. his consent to such a flagrant act of impolicy and
XI. injustice.

The price of the victim which this ambitious noble immolated at the shrine of his inordinate ambition enhanced the value of the sacrifice, and heightened its malignity. Among the examples of female excellence which history has recorded, there is none on which the mind dwells with greater pleasure than Jane Grey. Endowed with every personal grace, her understanding was more than feminine, and her literary acquirements were far beyond the age in which she lived. Her studies, under the tuition of Aylmer, comprehended both the Latin and Greek tongues, and in both these languages she is said to have excelled the king himself. Being of the same age with Edward, he regarded her not only with esteem, but with admiration; and if Providence had spared this excellent prince, a consort worthy of him might have been found in Jane Grey.

But the project of settling the crown in such an unjust and illegal manner, even on so gifted an object, was received with astonishment and disgust. Edward first imparted his design to Sir Edward Montagu, chief justice of the common pleas, and the law officers of the crown; but they objected, that the act of succession, having been ratified by parliament, could not be annulled by a testament. They were required to re-consider the judgment which they had delivered; but mature deliberation only convinced them of its soundness. On their next appearance before the council, they averred that the assent of any privy counsellor to such a measure would involve him in the crime of

high treason *. The king, with an asperity unusual to him, commanded them, on their allegiance, to draw a form of settlement, with a promise, that it should be ratified by a future parliament, and with a pardon to the judges under the great seal, for their transgression of the statute.

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The judges having been prevailed on to draw an entail of the crown in a legal form, and having, with the exception of Sir James Hales, subscribed it, the instrument was brought to the lord chancellor for confirmation, under the great seal; but it was still necessary that the deed of settlement should receive the assent of the privy council.

Awed by the haughty demeanour of Northumberland, or swayed by hopes of his future favour, most of the counsellors, without scruple, testified their approbation by signing the instrument; but Cecil and Cranmer boldly opposed an act of such illegality and injustice. The latter solicited a private interview with his sovereign; but having experienced a refusal, the archbishop gave his opinion openly to the king, in the presence of the marquis of Northampton, and the lord chamberlain Darcy. He said that he would never consent to disinherit the daughters of his old master and early benefactor; that he had voluntarily sworn to the observance of the late king's will; and that, by subscribing the instrument before the council, he must incur the guilt of perjury. In the conclusion, both Cecil and Cranmer were urged with an importunity almost amounting to compulsion, and affixed their names, the first, according to his own relation, merely as a witness, the last with a reluct-

July.

* Fuller's Church History, b. 8.

CHAP. XI. ance which even his enemies were constrained to admit as a sufficient justification *.

It was not without a presentiment of his approaching end that Edward executed this settlement; and, whatever may be thought of his judgment, no imputation can be laid against the purity of his intention. The last act of his life was suitable to the piety and benevolence by which it had been adorned. In the time of his sickness, Ridley, in a sermon, had expatiated on the duty of charity, and the particular obligation to its discharge in those of exalted station. The king, after hearing the discourse, sent for the bishop, whom he commanded to be seated in his presence covered, and desired that, as the preacher had given so general and public an exhortation, the confessor would give particular and confidential directions for its performance. The bishop, astonished at this tenderness of conscience in so young a prince, burst into tears expressive of joy, and, having recollected himself, craved permission for time to reflect, and consult with the magistrates of the city. The result of their deliberations was, that the poor should be divided into three classes: such as were poor through natural infirmity, such as had been reduced to poverty by accident, and such as were reduced to want through idleness. This representation having been submitted to the king, he assigned the church and revenues of the Grey Friars, near Newgate, as an asylum for orphans;

* Besides the deed of settlement, which was signed by thirty-three of the privy-council, another instrument of adherence to the settlement was signed by twenty-four. In this instrument the names of Cecil and Cranmer both appear. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. b. 4. See also Strype's Life of Cranmer.

the hospital of Saint Bartholomew, near Smithfield, as a retreat for the sick; and the palace of Bridewell, as a place of correction for the idle. When he had finally established these three foundations, he returned thanks to God that his life had been prolonged for the completion of such a design.

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Northumberland having procured a settlement of the crown on his daughter-in-law, had little concern for the restoration of the king's health. So obnoxious was his character, that he was accused of accelerating the death of Edward, by calling in improper medical aid, and persuading the discharge of the regular physicians. One fact is well attested, that he attempted to secure the persons both of Mary and Elizabeth, by sending to each of the sisters intelligence of the king's sickness, and in his name requiring their attendance and society; but before either of them could obey the summons, death approached. The last moments of Edward were devoted to religious meditation, occasionally expressed in short prayers and ejaculations. The concluding sentences which he was heard to utter were these: "Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen; howbeit not my will but thine be done! Lord, I commit my spirit unto thee! O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were to be with thee; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee! O Lord my God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance! O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ's sake."

July 6.

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The unprincipled and abortive attempt of Northumberland to place Jane Grey on the throne will occupy but a small space in the history of the English church. Mary had commenced her journey to London on the pretended summons of her brother; but, on receiving the intelligence of his death, she withdrew herself to a safe distance from the metropolis. Thence she addressed a letter to the lords of the council, expressing her regret at the king's death, and asserting her title to the crown. She did not pretend ignorance of the preparations made to overturn the constitution, and defeat her right; but she was willing to pardon what had already been done, if her subjects returned to their duty and allegiance.

July 9.

The lords of the council returned an immediate answer, reminding her that the marriage of her mother had been pronounced invalid by the ecclesiastical courts according to the laws of God and the country, and the sentence of divorce had been confirmed by successive parliaments. She had been declared by the statutes of the realm illegitimate, and consequently was incapable of succession to the throne. Therefore they required her to renounce her pretensions, and not to disturb the established government; and they promised that, by her submission, she would induce them to render any service to her which might be consistent with their duty.

The strongest argument in favour of the succession of Jane was her confessed predilection for the protestant faith, as the most popular reason for the exclusion of Mary was her inflexible attachment to the religion of her mother. Ridley was

appointed by the council to set forth to the people, in a sermon at Saint Paul's Cross, both the title of queen Jane, and also the dangers which must accrue to their religion, if the daughter of Catherine of Arragon should ascend the throne of England. To disprove the title of Mary was a task beyond the abilities even of Ridley; but he expatiated strongly on her character, and related an instance of his personal experience of her bigotry. His discourse failed to impress his auditors with conviction: they knew that, unless they betrayed their religion, no earthly power could take it from them, and that the plea of religion could not sanction an act of injustice*.

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As soon as Northumberland had left the capital to place himself at the head of the army, the council resolved to retrace their first hasty step, and to declare in favour of Mary. Uniting with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, they proclaimed her in the city, and then returned to the cathedral of Saint Paul, where they all solemnly returned thanks to God. An order was immediately sent to the duke of Suffolk to deliver up the Tower, and to his daughter to relinquish her title of queen. The duke of Northumberland, at the head of a small body of troops, had reached Cambridge, where he was chancellor of the university and high steward of the town; but having been advertised of the change of events, he spontaneously proclaimed Mary queen of England in the market-place, with every outward demonstration of joy.

On her approach to London, Mary was joined by a numerous train, and by her sister Elizabeth.

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. b. 5.

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They were then united by interest, if not by affection; for both were involved in the same imputation of illegitimacy. The new queen entered her capital with great solemnity and pomp, and the first act of her authority was calculated to secure the interest of the Romish party. When she came to the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been imprisoned there before the death of her father; Gardiner, the late bishop of Winchester, who had been deprived of his liberty, with a short intermission, during the whole reign of her brother; the duchess of Somerset, who had been confined two years; and the lord Courtney, son of the marquess of Exeter, who had been in custody since his father's attainder;

August 2. having presented themselves, and kneeled before her on the parade, they were immediately released, the queen graciously claiming them as her own captives*.

August 12. A few days after her accession, the queen made a declaration in council, that, although her own conscience was fixed in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or constrain others, otherwise than God should impress on their hearts a persuasion of that truth which she had embraced, and to which she still adhered. Yet she was not willing to leave her people to their own recollections, for she signified her intention of assisting their religious inquiries by the ministry of godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, whose instructions she trusted, by the divine assistance, would be effectual.

Mary was inclined immediately to effect a per-

* Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

sonal reconciliation with the see of Rome, thinking that her illegitimacy would be removed most effectually by papal authority. But to this premature step, solid objections were opposed by Gardiner, and they were not less solid, because dictated by interest. He intended to make the reconciliation of Mary with the apostolic see, if not a step on which to raise himself, yet at least a fence for his own security. To all the measures for the subversion of the papal authority in the reign of Henry he had cheerfully agreed, and in the divorce of Catherine he had been conspicuously distinguished. His treatise on true obedience was still in existence, and was a permanent record of his sentiments. He therefore persuaded the queen not to endanger the possession of a throne, on which she was scarcely secure, and to have recourse to parliamentary rather than to papal authority for the establishment of her legitimacy. The queen testified her approbation of this advice, by conferring on its author the dignity of lord chancellor, and by resigning to him the chief management of political affairs.

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August 23.

The abject submission of Northumberland, when resistance was unavailing, was treated as it deserved; and he was tried at Westminster-hall before his peers. Having rested his defence on two points of law, both of which were overruled by his judges, he confessed his guilt, and resigned himself to the clemency of the queen. Whether he had dissembled his religious sentiments throughout the last reign, or whether he changed them at this crisis, in the expectation of preserving his life, is uncertain; but on the scaffold he unequivocally professed

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his sincere belief in the catholic faith. He exhorted the people to be firm in the religion of their forefathers, and to reject the "new teaching." Innovations in religion had caused all the miseries of the last thirty years, and therefore he conjured the people, if they would avoid a recurrence of such calamities, to drive out of the nation those trumpets of sedition the new preachers. As to himself, whatever he might have pretended, he believed no other creed than that which his ancestors believed, of which the catholic faith was an article. Being blinded by ambition, he had made wreck of his conscience, and for his sacrifice of principle to worldly interest he expressed a deep contrition.

The five bishops, who had been deprived in the last reign, were soon restored to their sees. Boner was reinstated in the see of London, by virtue of a royal commission, purporting that he had preferred a petition for a review of the sentence of deprivation pronounced against him by the delegates, and that, the sentence being found illegal, it was thereby revoked. Tonsal had been dispossessed of the bishopric of Durham purely on secular grounds; for though he was a Romanist in doctrine, yet he had submitted to the laws of Edward. The duke of Northumberland had seized the regalties of the see; but, in consequence of the attainder of that nobleman, they reverted to the queen, and she applied them to the restoration of the bishopric in all its former splendour. In the letters patent, directed to Tonsal, it was recited, that some wicked men had procured the dissolution of the bishopric to gratify their love of gain and aggrandizement. It is scarcely necessary to add that, together with

Heath and Day, who were restored to their sees of Worcester and Chichester, Gardiner, at the same time that he was invested with the chancellorship, was replaced in the bishopric of Winchester.

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On this prelate now devolved the chief authority in the church, as well as the state; and his first interference in ecclesiastical matters was in his capacity of lord chancellor. The queen having declared that her only method of bringing back her people to the truth was by exhortation and preaching, a commission was granted to the lord chancellor, authorizing him to license, under the great seal, such grave, learned, and discreet persons, as he should think meet and able to preach the word of God. All who were thus licensed were qualified to preach in any cathedral or parochial church to which he might think it convenient to send them. Thus the reformers were not only deprived of all hope of procuring licences for themselves, but were compelled to admit preachers selected by Gardiner into their own churches. Many of them, however, continued to preach openly, notwithstanding the queen's injunction, while others were contented with performing divine offices according to the liturgy of king Edward, and to communicate their pastoral addresses in private houses.

Cranmer, during these great changes, had not been an inattentive spectator. Almost immediately after the accession of the queen, he was summoned before the privy council, to account for his signature to the will of the late king: but he was so clear in this respect of any treasonable intentions, and his unwillingness to affix his name to the deed of settlement was so notorious, that he was dis-

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missed with a reprimand, and with an injunction not to leave his house. Thus time was afforded for deliberation on his future course.

Some of his most attached friends, convinced of his impending fate, urged him to fly while he was yet at liberty. In Germany he was remembered with esteem and affection, and there might be certain of finding an honourable asylum. His answer was worthy of his character and station, and he expressed his resolution not to desert his post now that it was a post of danger. But while he was regardless of his own safety, he was not unmindful of the safety of his advisers, and he exhorted them to fly, with a warmth of persuasion as strong as his own determination to remain was unmoveable.

Peter Martyr was compelled to leave Oxford, and to seek protection at Lambeth; and while this distinguished foreigner still remained under the insecure protection of his early patron, Cranmer, by the advice of his guest, resolved to give a decisive proof of his steady adherence to the protestant faith. Such was the natural mildness of his temper, that his enemies, mistaking it for pusillanimity or tergiversation*, had spread a report of his intention to officiate before the queen in the Latin service, and to celebrate the mass. To exculpate himself from so false a charge, he drew up a manifesto; but which, from the vehemence and intemperance of its style, was more probably the

* “ This day is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him: he is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that will not serve.” Boner’s Letter, dated Sept. 6, 1553. Burnet’s Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 7.

composition of Peter Martyr than of himself. Its substance was, that as Satan, himself a liar, and the father of lies, had at no time abstained from arming his slaves and hirelings against Christ and his religion, he was at that time more than ordinarily busy. For whereas king Henry the Eighth had begun the correction of the abuses of the Latin mass, which his son Edward had entirely removed; and whereas the Lord's supper was restored to its first institution, and the model of the primitive church, yet the devil had attempted to bring the mass again into its room, as being his own invention. That this stratagem might be effected more easily, certain persons had dared to abuse the name and authority of himself as archbishop, giving out that the mass had been restored at Canterbury by his order, and also that he had offered to sing mass before the queen at the funeral of king Edward, at Saint Paul's and other places. Though for the space of twenty years past he had borne with fortitude and patience the empty and false reports which were spread concerning him, yet he thought it injurious to God and his truth at that time to be silent under such unfounded imputations. Therefore he protested to all the world that the mass was not set up at Canterbury by his order, but by a fawning, false, and hypocritical monk*, without his counsel or consciousness. As for his having undertaken to celebrate mass before the queen, or in any other place, the queen herself knew well the falsehood of the report. But in order to give an incontrovertible proof of his sin-

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* Thornton, suffragan of Dover.

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cerity, he offered to maintain in a public disputation, the English communion service, both from the authority of the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive church, and to prove that the mass was contrary to both. Although Peter Martyr had been called by some malevolent persons an unlearned man, yet, if a royal licence could be obtained, he would, in conjunction with Peter Martyr, and five or six other associates, selected by himself, defend, not only the book of common prayer and the other rites and ceremonies prescribed by it, but the whole doctrine and form of religion as it had been established by the late king*.

Sept. 5.

This manifesto had been framed by Cranmer with an intention of making a public use of it, but the time of its publication was anticipated. Having shown it to Scory, the late bishop of Chichester, that prelate indiscreetly circulated it, and a copy was publicly read in the city of London. This unjustifiable step on the part of Scory occasioned a summons of the archbishop before the council, when two interrogatories were demanded of him: first, whether he were the author of the seditious paper which had been published in his name? secondly, whether, if the paper were indeed his, he was sorry for its publication? To these questions Cranmer replied, that he was indeed the author of the paper falsely called seditious; and that he was not ashamed of its substance, which he was prepared to defend; but that he was sorry for its premature disclosure. He had intended to enlarge

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 8.

on many points in it, and then to affix it, attested by his own hand and seal, to the doors of the cathedral of Saint Paul, and other churches in the metropolis.

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Contrary to general expectation, the archbishop was dismissed on that day, but within a few days afterwards was committed to the Tower, on a charge of high treason, and of dispersing seditious writings. But Crammer was not the only object of royal displeasure, even at this early period, and of persecution merely on account of religion. Ridley, in consequence of his sermon at Saint Paul's cross, could not reasonably expect to escape punishment; but Hooper, who had espoused the cause of Mary with a warmth almost incompatible with his strong abhorrence of popery, was rewarded for his loyalty with imprisonment, because he had disobeyed the injunctions of the lord chancellor concerning preachers. Latimer, who had refused to resume the episcopal office under Edward, which he had resigned in the reign of Henry, but who was one of the most popular preachers of the reformed doctrines, was summoned before the council to render an account of his preaching, and in consequence of his "seditious demeanour" was also committed to the Tower.

Sept. 15.

Sept. 1

Sept. 13.

Shortly after her accession, Mary had summoned a parliament, and the ceremony of her coronation was performed a few days before its meeting. Gardiner placed the crown on her head, with all the pompous ceremonial of the Romish church; and Day, lately restored to the bishopric of Chichester, the most eloquent preacher of the Romish party, delivered the coronation sermon.

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That no opportunity might be neglected of preparing the people for the re-establishment of the Romish faith, the day of the coronation was selected for a display of the royal bounty. An act of grace, or a general amnesty, had been the customary accompaniment of this solemn pageant, but now an extraordinary largess was distributed. Notwithstanding the exhausted state of the treasury, and the accumulation of the public debts, the queen discharged her subjects from the subsidies granted by the preceding parliament, and which had now become due. The only recompense which she expected for this act of liberality was, that her loving subjects would “bind themselves wholly to God, to serve him sincerely, and with continual prayer, for the honour and advancement of the queen and commonwealth.”

In the writ by which the parliament was assembled, the queen still retained her title of supreme head of the church. The writ by virtue of which the convocation was to meet had been, according to custom, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury; but, in consequence of the imprisonment of Cranmer, it was executed by Boner, as bishop of London and provincial dean. All the protestant prelates, with the exception of two, were either imprisoned or had fled; for the archbishop of York had been sent to the Tower, on a general charge of heinous offences. Thus no serious opposition to the measures of the queen, or her chief minister, could be expected, either in parliament or in convocation.

October 5. After the preliminary forms at the meeting of a new parliament had been transacted, there was

a prorogation of two days; and in what must be called its second session, the legitimacy of the queen was confirmed, and the sentence of divorce between Henry the Eighth and Catherine of Spain declared void*." "Truth," in the language of the statute, "however obscured and borne down, will at length break out." The marriage was affirmed to have been originally lawful; but some malicious persons had endeavoured to infuse conscientious scruples into the king's mind, and by sinister practices, and secret threats, had procured the seals of several universities, abroad and at home, to instruments in condemnation of a marriage which was legal. The sentence of divorce was pronounced by "Thomas Cranmer, then newly made archbishop of Canterbury," upon these surreptitious and pretended testimonies, "upon his own unadvised understanding of the scriptures, and some base and most untrue conjectures." The divorce thus unlawfully procured was confirmed by two acts of parliament, in which the illegitimacy of the present queen was contained. The present statute, therefore, repealed these two acts†, and declared that the sentence of divorce was from the beginning null and void.

By procuring the enactment of this statute, Gardiner fulfilled his promise to the queen of establishing her legitimacy by parliamentary and not by papal authority; but if he were the actual framer of the statute, he showed that "he was past all shame‡." The divorce had been prosecuted by

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* Stat. 1 Mary, 2d sess. c. 1.

† Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22, and 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

‡ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii.

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Gardiner in the consistory of Rome, before Cranmer was known to king Henry; and in all the proceedings in England, he was Henry's confidential adviser and advocate. To him was intrusted the arrangement and selection of the evidence; and when a resolution was adopted of passing the sentence of divorce by the mere authority of the English metropolitan, if Cranmer presided, Gardiner actively forwarded the business of the court. If Gardiner had not conducted the affair to that position in which Cranmer found it, the sentence of divorce could not have been pronounced.

The title of the queen being thus confirmed, the next act of the parliament was to repeal all the laws concerning religion passed in the late reign*. The preamble of the statute set forth the great disorders which had happened by religious innovations, and by departing from that faith which had been transmitted from former ages. On this account, all the laws which had been made in the reign of king Edward concerning religion were repealed, and no other form of service was to be used than that which had been used in the last year of Henry the Eighth. Not less than nine statutes were thus repealed, of which the principal were, for giving the communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second service book; for confirming the new ordinal; for allowing the marriage of priests, and making their issue legitimate; and for the appointment of bishops by the king's letters patent. That the Romish religion might

* Stat. 1 Mary, sess. 2 c. 2.

be reinstated, and celebrated without disturbance or impediment, it was enacted in a separate statute, that whoever should maliciously molest any preacher, duly licensed to preach, during his sermon, or should maliciously disturb any lawful priest preparing or celebrating the mass, or should maliciously injure any crucifix or cross, were to suffer imprisonment for three months, or until they expressed penitence for their offences*.

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Towards the close of the session, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord Guildford Dudley, and lady Jane Grey, with two other sons of the late duke of Northumberland were brought to their trial. Cranmer, on submitting himself to the royal clemency, pointed out in a forcible manner the unwillingness with which he had agreed to exclude the queen from the succession, and that he had refused his consent until the judges, and other lawyers, had led the way. His arguments could not arrest the sentence of the law: he was attainted for levying war against the queen, and for conspiring to set up another in her room; but though sentence was passed, execution was stayed. Together with the rest of the prisoners, he was remanded to the Tower, for the fate of all was to be decided by future contingencies.

Nov. 13.

Having thus related the proceedings in parliament, the attention is naturally directed to those which took place in convocation. Boner, as bishop

* Another act of a private nature occasioned a long debate, that for repealing the act which allowed the second marriage of the marquis of Northampton. The act was passed in opposition to the principles of the canon law, which it was the object of this reign to restore.

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of London, was president, and Weston, dean of Westminster, was chosen prolocutor of the lower house. The sermon was preached by Harpsfield, in which he inveighed against the conduct of the clergy during the late reign; that they had made a breach in the unity of the church, poisoned the kingdom with heterodoxy, and misled many souls to perdition.

The only protestant prelates who had ventured to appear in the house of lords were Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Harley, bishop of Hereford; but they soon withdrew, or were compelled to retire*. Neither of these prelates ventured to take his place in convocation, and the few who assembled in the upper house were decided Romanists. In the lower house a precaution was taken to secure the return of such proctors as were friendly to the views of the court; but a part of the assembly was not elective, and there were five non-compliers, whom, being deans or archdeacons, it was impossible to exclude.

Weston, the prolocutor, to whom belonged the office of preparing and arranging the business of the house, stated, that it was the queen's pleasure to have certain controversial points debated, and that the result of their debates should be framed into canons to be ratified by the royal assent. Thence he passed on to a formal condemnation of the late catechism and liturgy, denouncing both as heretical, particularly in those articles which related to the sacrament of the altar. He inti-

* According to Fox, Taylor was violently thrust out of the house for refusing to give reverence to the mass.

mated to the house that, after a prorogation of two days, a discussion would take place on two questions: first, whether, in the sacrament, the bread and wine were not changed, after consecration, into the body and blood of Christ; secondly, whether the natural body of Christ was not corporally present in the eucharist, either by the transubstantiation of the elements, or, as some expressed it, by the conjunction of concomitance.

The members, expecting a disputation, prepared for the contest; but, at the next meeting, the prolocutor exhibited two propositions for the subscription of the house, one being an affirmation of the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, the other a censure of the late catechism. Both those articles were subscribed by all the members, except five; but Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, having offered something in defence of the catechism, contended that it was contrary to reason and precedent to require a subscription to articles before they had been discussed. As the number of those who maintained the affirmative of the propositions far exceeded the dissentients in that house, he moved that Ridley, and other distinguished protestant prelates, might be allowed to bear a part in the disputation. The request being proposed to the bishops, it was of course denied, for Ridley was a prisoner; but the prolocutor consented to fix a day for a public disputation, which was attended by a vast concourse of the nobility and commonalty.

Seldom have public disputations tended to elicit truth, or to produce conviction: they have tended rather to increase difference of opinion into per-

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sonal animosity; and the present case is no exception to the truth. The whole proceeding was conducted with notorious partiality by the prolocutor, and it was terminated without any satisfactory result. It continued during three days, greatly to the disadvantage of the Romanists, and the mortification of Weston; but on the third day he resolved to end the debate. Some protestant disputant having said in the heat of argument, "We have the word," meaning that they had scripture in their favour, the prolocutor insultingly answered, "But we have the sword*." Philpot was commanded no more to appear in the house, unless on condition of preserving silence, or of speaking with the permission of the prolocutor.

Although the parliament had restored the national religion to its state at the death of Henry, and although the convocation, by strength of numbers, if not of argument, had re-established the doctrine of the corporal presence, yet Mary was far removed from the object of her warmest wishes, the recognition of the papal authority in England. Gardiner had triumphantly carried her so far; but here, it is most probable, he would have rested. Even if a reconciliation with Rome could have been effected without caution, it may well be doubted whether he would have consented, if he had been left to his own inclinations. He now held the reins of government. He possessed the highest office in the state; and he entertained a sanguine hope of succeeding to the highest dignity

* See Bishop Warburton's Remarks on Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. c. 3.

in the church. A reconciliation with Rome would probably diminish his temporal power, and would indubitably disappoint his attainment of the highest ecclesiastical dignity in England. The see of Canterbury, he well knew, was designed by his royal mistress for another more favoured claimant; for one to whom she was bound by every tie of gratitude and honour; whom a long absence had not effaced from her affectionate remembrance; who had consoled her in the hour of trial, and whose participation in her prosperity would enhance its enjoyment.

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Reginald Pole, both by paternal and maternal descent, was allied to the royal blood of England, and his virtues reflected lustre on his noble birth. He had assumed the profession of an ecclesiastic at the desire of Henry the Eighth; and that monarch had anxiously superintended his education, with a view of elevating him to the English primacy. The deanery of Exeter, and some inferior preferments, had been conferred on him at an early period of life, for the purpose of affording a suitable maintenance at a foreign university. When the agents of Henry were employed in collecting the determinations of academical bodies, concerning the legality of his marriage with Catherine, Pole was at Paris, and he firmly, though not offensively, refused to concur in any application to these authorities. Shortly afterwards he returned to his native country, and was in his place in the convocation which tendered the submission of the clergy, and acknowledged the king as supreme head of the church. Either a disgust at the measures of Henry, or a desire of cultivating his

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studies, or the concurrence of both these motives, induced him again to leave England, and he selected the university of Padua as the place of his residence. Padua was famed not so much for the cultivation of the fine arts, as for classical literature, and the higher branches of science; and these pursuits were congenial to the taste of the English ecclesiastic. He devoted himself to the study of the best Roman authors, and to Latin composition. Bembo, Centareno, Caraffa, and Sadoletto, were proud to be enrolled among the number of his friends, and joined in celebrating the talents and acquirements of Reginald Pole.

Often had Henry invited the object of his almost paternal solicitude to return to England, to fulfil the duties of his station, and in due time to receive those higher rewards which he so well merited. The invitation was constantly declined, till, finding that excuses would be admitted no longer, he was compelled to inform his sovereign and benefactor, that his conscience revolted both from the divorce from Catherine, and also from the separation of England from the apostolic see. Henry, having transmitted a treatise in vindication of his conduct, written by Samson, dean of the chapel royal, Pole undertook to answer it, in his celebrated book on the unity of the church. The work abounded with personal invective, and far exceeded the style of dispassionate and fair argument, and it was not without effect, though it answered not the end intended by Pole. Henry deprived him of all his preferments, and then consigned him to irrevocable expatriation, by procuring against him a bill of attainder.

If a secret affection for the princess Mary were the real motive for his spirited opposition to Henry, though something must be detracted from his disinterestedness, yet his generosity and consistency will suffer no diminution. His latent attachment for the daughter of the ill-fated Catherine will account for and excuse the excitement and exasperation which his work displays, and his love for Mary can alone exculpate him from the charge of ingratitude to her father.

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Mary.

The loss of the patronage of Henry was abundantly recompensed by the imperial and papal courts. Ecclesiastical preferments were liberally bestowed, and a place in the sacred college was conferred on him by Paul the Third. On the death of that pontiff, his royal extraction, his literary attainments, and his urbanity of manners, were qualities not forgotten in the choice of a successor; and if the modesty of Pole had not impeded his own advancement, he might have been the second Englishman who sat in the papal chair. Julius the Third, conscious that his own election was owing to the reluctance of Pole to accept the popedom, was warm in his deference and gratitude, and during his pontificate, the influence of the English cardinal in the conclave was unrivalled.

1549.

Years had now rolled on, and Pole, in the placid enjoyment of ecclesiastical dignity and literary retirement, had forgotten the misfortunes of his early life, and remembered the injuries of Mary with sorrow and sensibility, rather than with bitterness. But when the object of his youthful devotedness was unexpectedly called to that high station for which she was educated, his joy was not

CHAP. less ardent, because unmixed with any feelings of
XI. personal attachment. Her cause, in his estimation, was connected with the cause of religion.

1558.

Immediately on her accession, Mary had communicated the intelligence to the court of Rome, and signified her wish that Pole might be appointed the pope's legate in England. At the time when the request was made, Pole was at a distance from the capital of Italy, and the appointment was made during his absence. As he was not slow in returning those congratulations which he sincerely felt, so he commenced his journey without delay. But an unexpected event detained him in the midst of his progress, an event for which England and Europe were unprepared.

Charles the Fifth had no sooner been informed of the death of Edward, and the succession of Mary, than he meditated the annexation of England to his other dominions. Apprehensive that his son Philip, who, though a widower, was still in early manhood, might decline a marriage with a princess many years older, he determined, in case of Philip's refusal, to offer himself a second time to his cousin, to whom he had been once betrothed. Contrary to his calculations, the proposal was accepted without hesitation by Philip, who was willing, according to the maxim of princes, to sacrifice his inclination to his ambition. The emperor, as soon as Mary was seated on the throne, together with his congratulations, sent a proposal of marriage between the queen of England and the heir of the imperial crown. Mary, dazzled with the prospect of marrying the son of the greatest monarch in Europe; fond of uniting herself more

closely with her mother's family, to which she had been always warmly attached; and eager to secure the powerful aid which she knew would be necessary towards her favourite scheme of re-establishing the Romish religion in England, listened in the most favourable manner to the proposal*.

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Among her subjects, however, the projected union was received with general discontent. Those who favoured the reformation, saw in such a marriage the complete extinction of their hopes; those to whom religion was a matter of indifference, feared a revolution in the government. The Spanish character was regarded by the English with antipathy; and they justly dreaded, both from the character of Philip, and the despotic nature of the Spanish monarchy, that the liberties of England would be endangered.

But Mary, inflexible in all her resolutions, and disdainful of popular opinion, was impenetrable either to murmurs or remonstrances. The emperor, by various arts, secured those ministers who were in her highest confidence, and large sums were remitted in order to gain the consent of the council. Cardinal Pole was detained at Dillinghen, in Germany, by the emperor's command, lest, by his presence in England, he might defeat the pretensions of Philip. His personal rivalry was not expected; but it was feared that he might employ his interest in favour of his relative, Courtney, earl of Devonshire, whom the English ardently wished their sovereign to select as her husband†.

Gardiner, who dreaded Pole as a present rival

* Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. iv.

† Carte's History of England, vol. iii.

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in political power, and a future superior in ecclesiastical rank, willingly seized any opportunity of retarding the journey of the legate, and a reconciliation with the see of Rome. On this account, he promoted the marriage with sincerity, and contended that it ought to precede a recognition of the papal jurisdiction. The house of commons had presented an earnest and humble address, praying the queen not to marry a stranger, and this circumstance was converted by Gardiner, not into a reason for rejecting the marriage, but for insisting on more advantageous terms.

The articles of the treaty were undoubtedly framed with great address, and if there had been a probability that they would have been enforced or observed, were highly beneficial to England. But the people adopted a different interpretation, and contended that, in proportion as they were favourable to one party, they must be unjust to the other, and that the party injured would watch with anxious vigilance for an occasion of violating them. These sentiments prevailed so generally, that every part of the kingdom was filled with discontent at the marriage, and with indignation against its advisers. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of some note, of equivocal intentions, but of confessed incapacity, took advantage of the general disaffection. He succeeded in exciting the men of Kent to arms, in order to save their country from a foreign yoke. Though he said nothing publicly of the danger which threatened religion, yet he gave private assurances of his inclination to the reformed doctrines, assurances which were discovered to be false. Such numbers of malcontents resorted in a short

time to his standard, his march to London was conducted with such rapidity, and the queen was so entirely destitute of any means of defence, that if Wyatt had possessed talents in any degree equal to the boldness of his enterprise, the rebellion must have proved fatal to the power, if not to the life, of Mary. In the moment when the rebels were flushed with success, a messenger was sent from the queen to inquire the demands of the insurgents, and the terms on which they would be contented to disperse. But the extravagant propositions of Wyatt, at the same time that they precluded all adjustment, were also a proof of his weakness or his malignancy. His measures were conceived with so little foresight, and executed with so great irresolution, that he was deserted by many of his followers, the remainder was dispersed by a far inferior force, and himself was captured, and consigned to the punishment due to his rashness and rebellion.

The authority of Mary was confirmed and increased by this inconsiderate and mischievous attempt to destroy it; and her conduct, during the time of the greatest danger, was such as to raise her character in the public estimation. She displayed a magnanimity worthy of the house of Tudor. It was on Ash Wednesday when Wyatt and his followers entered London; but the queen rejected every solicitation to quit her palace and seek safety in the Tower. With her priests and attendants she repaired to her devotions in her chapel with the greatest composure.

One consequence of Wyatt's rebellion was the execution of lady Jane Grey and her husband. She

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was not unprepared for the event, for she was aware that the lightest suspicion would furnish a pretext for taking her life. So deeply rooted in her was religious principle, that her piety has been represented as ostentatious, or bigoted, or hypocritical, by the Romanists; but the concluding scene of her life shows, to an unprejudiced mind, the strength of her belief, and the Christian humility of her temper. One Harding, who had been chaplain to her father, and a zealous preacher of the reformed doctrines, had animated the people by his exhortations to prepare for persecution; but on the accession of Mary, when persecution approached, he had himself fallen away from the faith which he had so energetically taught. To reclaim this apostate was one of the last efforts of Jane Grey; but her expostulations, conveyed in a letter, however forcible, from the situation of the writer, were unavailing*. Equally unavailing were the endeavours of the Romish clergy to effect a change in her opinions. Fecknam, the abbot of Westminster, was sent by the queen to prepare her for death; and though she rejected his spiritual counsel, she wrought powerfully on his feelings. By his intercession a respite of three days was allowed, and his attendance on her was continued even to the scaffold.

The night before her execution, she sent the Greek Testament, which had been the companion of her prison hours, to her sister, and the letter which accompanied the gift expressed her high

* The letter has been preserved by Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*.

reverence for the word of God, and contained an earnest desire that her sister, after her example, would make it the subject of her study. On the fatal day, when she saw her husband led out to suffer, her feelings overcame her; but the pang was momentary, and she recovered her serenity. When conducted to the scaffold, she confessed herself guilty of the act for which she was condemned to suffer; but the crown was neither procured nor desired by her. Her melancholy fate, she trusted, would warn posterity not to yield to the ambitious views of others. Having repeated her declaration of dying in the faith of Christ, and of relying solely on his merits for acceptance, she recited with great devotion the fifty-first psalm, and her dying ejaculation was, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

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Though the innocence of Jane Grey, in the rebellion of Wyat, was clear, yet her father, the duke of Suffolk, was deeply involved in it. He was tried by his peers, and, having been found guilty, died with little pity or respect. Elizabeth herself could not escape suspicion; for it was surmised that Courtney, earl of Devonshire, was implicated in the conspiracy, that he designed to marry her, and to seat her on the throne. In consequence of this suspicion, the earl was rigorously confined, and Elizabeth, after suffering a long imprisonment in the Tower, was restored only to a limited enjoyment of her liberty.

These severities effectually suppressed all opposition to the projected alliance between Philip and Mary, and the express assent of the succeeding parliament was secured by Gardiner. The articles of marriage, framed by his advice, and under

April 2.

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XI. ————— they were not only confirmed as they were originally framed, but an explanation was added in respect of an important part. The entire government of the realm was vested in the queen. The Spaniards, under a pretext of conciliating the English nation to the proposed marriage, had derived the pedigree of Philip from John of Gaunt, and represented the future husband of their queen as an Englishman, rather than an alien. Such an extravagant pretension tended to excite suspicion, rather than to gain favour, and it infused additional vigilance into Gardiner. Whatever might have been his general character, whatever might have been his real motives on this occasion, he acted like a statesman and a patriot: he laboured to preserve the independence of England, and to prevent her from being reduced to a province of Spain.

* Stat. 1 Mary, Parl. 2. c. 2.

CHAPTER XII.

Royal Injunction for the Re-establishment of the Romish Religion.—Protestant Bishops and Clergy deprived.—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer sent to Oxford.—Disputation held there on the Corporal Presence.—Projected Disputation at Cambridge defeated.—Philip arrives in England.—Marriage with Mary solemnized.—Third Parliament of Mary.—Pole's Attainder reversed.—Reconciliation of England to the See of Rome.—Policy of Pole and Gardiner.—Statutes against Heresy revived.

ALTHOUGH the authority of the pope was not yet restored, the ritual of the Romish church was re-established by law, and the queen was not tardy in executing the statutes to which the last parliament had assented. The bishops received a royal injunction to institute an immediate visitation of their clergy, and with the injunction a book of articles to direct their inquiries*.

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The injunction expatiated on the disorders which had taken place in the last reign through neglect of discipline; and the bishops were commanded to enforce the canons and ecclesiastical laws as they were left by Henry the Eighth. The sequel of the injunction gave an intimation, not to be mistaken, of her intention once more to submit the kingdom to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Romish see; for, in all the processes of the ecclesiastical courts, the bishops were no longer to use the

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 10.

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queen's name. The injunction went farther, for it directed that the oath of supremacy should not be administered in future to the clergy. The bishops were admonished against admitting any person into holy orders, who was suspected of heresy, and to exercise due vigilance for the detection and punishment of heretics. All married clergymen were to be removed and separated from their wives, and deprived of their benefices; but such as were willing to quit their wives might be promoted to other benefices, or might be entitled to a pension from the benefice of which they had been dispossessed. All processions of the church were to be used in the Latin tongue, according to the old order, and all laudable ceremonies formerly in use were to be revived. Those who had been promoted to holy orders, "after the new sort and fashion of orders," since they were not canonically ordained, were to be re-admitted by the bishop of the diocese, if he found them in other respects qualified. An uniform system of doctrine was to be set forth in homilies for public use, and the people were to be compelled to attend on divine service. Schoolmasters and instructors of youth were to be examined with respect to their religious tenets, and if they were suspected of heresy, to be prohibited from teaching youth. In conclusion, the bishops and governors of the church were exhorted to set an example of holy living, and to suppress vice and impiety.

The injunction was little more than a recapitulation of the late statutes, and those articles which may properly be called penal were immediately put in force. A commission was directed to several

bishops, at the head of which was Gardiner, for depriving such of their brethren as had broken their vows, and defiled their function, by marriage. Four of the offending prelates, the archbishop of York, with the bishops of Saint David's, Chester, and Bristol, were deprived for this cause on the same day. Another commission was issued to the same persons, empowering them to cite Taylor, falsely calling himself bishop of Lincoln; Hooper and Harley, the pretended bishops of Gloucester and Hereford. These prelates, it was stated, had their respective sees granted to them with an express clause that their tenure was on condition of their good behaviour; but since, by preaching erroneous doctrines, and by an irregular life and conversation, they had demeaned themselves contrary to the laws of God and the practice of the catholic church, proceedings were about to be instituted against them according to the ecclesiastical laws. Since, however, they had manifestly forfeited their sees, the commissioners were authorized to declare them vacant.

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By virtue of these two commissions, seven protestant bishops were deprived, and the most eminent preachers of the reformed doctrines were either committed to public prisons, or placed under private restraint. A considerable number of the clergy were dispossessed of their benefices, solely on account of their marriage; and though the number of the sufferers has been over-stated*, yet there is

* Bishop Burnet vouches archbishop Parker for the fact, that twelve thousand of the clergy were deprived on account of their marriage, whereas the number of the English clergy was computed only at sixteen thousand. The learned and

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no exaggeration of the severity and injustice of the act. Some were convicted only on common fame; some were never cited to appear, and yet were deprived; some who were already in prison were cited, and, because they did not appear, were treated as guilty; an inconsiderable number were induced to quit their wives, in order to retain their livings. These were not the only acts of injustice; for many, even after they had been deprived, were obliged to separate from their wives. This last act of severity was founded on their pretended vow of chastity, though no such vow had been taken or required during the last reign. Even those regulars who had taken monastic vows, one of which is well known to have been a vow of chastity, on account of the dissolution of the monasteries, were exempted from it by the equity of the case.

When the second parliament of Mary met, the convocation also assembled after the usual form. The friends of the reformation had complained with justice, that the disputation, in the preceding convocation, had been conducted with gross partiality; that the most able divines, on the protestant side, had been detained in prison, and excluded from any share in its debates; and that those who were permitted to attend were treated with rudeness, and prevented from a free declaration of their opinion. To silence these clamours, the resolution

accurate Henry Wharton, after having examined the number of clergymen who were deprived in the arch-diocese and peculiars of Canterbury, finds that, out of about three hundred benefices, seventy-three incumbents were deprived. This amounts to less than a fourth. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, b. 5.

was adopted of sending Weston, the prolocutor of the lower house, with a delegation of divines to Oxford, and there to renew a disputation on the corporal presence, before the whole university. The convocation and the two universities were authorized, by letters patent from the queen, to constitute a committee for the management of the controversy. As the Romish party, in the language of the prolocutor, had the sword, they had the choice not only of their weapons but of their antagonists. In selecting Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, they could not be accused of engaging in a sciomachy; but still an objection might be urged against the fairness of the contest. The three champions of the protestant faith were sent to Oxford as prisoners. Like the great apostle of the gentiles, when he offered his eloquent apology for the Christian faith, they were "in bonds." A short space of two days only was allowed to them for preparation; they were kept in different prisons, were not suffered to converse together, and were denied the advantage of books and papers. They were obliged likewise to appear singly in the disputation against a host of opponents, acting in concert, and with all the advantages of previous study.

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Since the rebellion of Wyat, on account of the number of prisoners in the Tower, Cranmer and Ridley had been confined in the same apartment. By conferences with each other, and by joint prayers to the Spirit of Wisdom, they had mutually strengthened their conviction and animated their courage, and they received the intimation of their removal to Oxford, for the purpose of giving a

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public testimony of their faith, with gratitude and joy.

April 10.

By the same authority under which the committee of divines was appointed*, the three protestant confessors were removed, and the queen sent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, to bring the three prisoners into the schools at the times appointed for disputation.

The articles, or questions of disputation, were three: 1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament or not, after the words of consecration are spoken by the priest? 2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance remains, except the body and blood of Christ? 3. Whether in the mass there is a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead?

April 14.

The proceedings were opened with great state and solemnity, and, as a preliminary step, the questions being reduced into the form of articles, were subscribed by all the members of the committee who had not before subscribed them, either at London or Cambridge. The commissioners held their first session in the choir of St. Mary's church, and were seated before the altar, "to the number of thirty-three persons†," Weston, the prolocutor of the convocation, being the president. Cranmer was

* The committee consisted of Dr. Weston, prolocutor; Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Chedsey, Mr. Pye, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam, of Oxford; Dr. Young, vice-chancellor; Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgwick, and Dr. Atkinson, from Cambridge.—Fox's Acts and Monuments. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. b. 5.

† Fox's Acts and Monuments, Life of Latimer.

the first of the prisoners introduced into this assembly, in custody of the mayor, and in the habit of a doctor. He stood before the commissioners with his staff in his hand, and declined to accept the seat which was offered to him. The prolocutor, stationed in the midst of the assembly, began with a short preface or speech in praise of Christian unity, and then directed his discourse to Cranmer. He stated, that the prisoner had been educated in the true catholic faith, but that of late years he had separated himself from it, by teaching erroneous doctrines, and by setting forth every year a new system. For this reason, the queen had sent himself and his colleagues, to bring back the heretic to the fold of Christ. Weston then exhibited the three articles which had been already subscribed by the convocation, to which he demanded the assent and subscription of Cranmer.

The archbishop replied to this address with a gravity and persuasive modesty which drew tears from many in the assembly. He observed, that no man was so desirous of unity as himself; but it must be an unity in Christ, and founded in the truth. Having read the articles three or four times, he desired an explanation of a term in the first article, what was meant by "the true and natural body of Christ," whether an organical or sensible body was intended? He was answered, though not without confusion and disagreement among the different speakers, that it meant the same body which was born of the Virgin. On receiving this answer, he said that he was prepared to maintain the negative of all the questions, that they were false and against God's holy word, and if agreement in them were

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the conditions of unity, he must reject communion. The deportment of the archbishop was conciliatory, and gained general commendation, and he was dismissed, after a day had been assigned to him for disputation.

On the removal of Cranmer, Ridley was brought in, and having heard the articles read to him, answered without hesitation, that they were false, and that they sprung out of a sour and bitter root. "His answers were sharp and witty, and very learned." The commissioners attempted to fix a charge of inconsistency upon him, and asserted that, ever since his promotion to a bishopric, he had maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation; but he satisfactorily repelled the imputation. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, having been mentioned as an evidence of his holding the doctrine of the mass, Ridley boldly said, that if the lord chancellor reported any such thing, he reported what was untrue. On being asked if he were ready to dispute, he replied, that as long as God gave him life, not only his heart, but also his mouth and his pen, should be ready to defend divine truth; but he required time and books. He was informed that his demand of time could not be granted, but he should be furnished with books. The articles were then given to him, and he was required, as Cranmer had been, to write his opinion on each.

Latimer was then summoned, and his appearance exhibited a striking contrast to that of the two prelates. At his breast hung his New Testament and his spectacles; in his hand he held his staff, which supported his feeble frame, and with difficulty he made his way through the crowd.

Seating himself without ceremony in the chair which was placed for him, he heard the articles read, and gave to them a plain denial. When told that he was expected to dispute, shaking his palsied head, he smiled and said, that he was equally fit to be governor of Calais. Still he was willing to declare his opinion, either in writing or in conference. He complained that he had been deprived of pen and ink since his confinement, and that he had no other book except his New Testament, which he had read over deliberately seven times, and yet could not find in it the mass; “neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same.” The prolocutor was not a little offended with the homeliness of this expression, and Latimer was forthwith remanded to the custody of the bailiff.

The disputation took place at the time appointed, and was continued on three successive days. Cranmer had the precedence, and on the first day was conducted to the respondent’s seat in the divinity school, but still under the custody of the mayor. The prolocutor opened the disputation with a customary speech, but committed a blunder which raised the mirth of the audience *. Having discovered his error, he corrected it, and proceeded to say that it was not lawful to call in question the doctrine of the corporal presence, since it was taught by the express words of Christ himself, and to doubt the truth of the Scriptures was the same as to doubt the truth and power of God.

To this exordium Cranmer, having first obtained

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* *Convenistis hodie fratres profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in sacramento.* Fox’s *Acts and Monuments*, and Bishop Jewel’s *Works*.

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licence, answered, that the purpose of their meeting was to discuss a question which was doubtful, and therefore a fit subject of disputation; but the prolocutor had affirmed it to be a certain truth, and if so, it was an unfit matter of discussion. It was, therefore, contrary to reason to dispute concerning a question which the moderator had predetermined, and if it regarded an incontrovertible truth, to expect its confutation from him was absurd.

The disputation continued from the morning till past noon, but in a disorderly manner, and with many interruptions. It was carried on sometimes in English, and sometimes in Latin. Of April 16. Cranmer's opponents, Yonge, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, was esteemed the most able; but three hours had elapsed before the confusion permitted him to bear a part in the argument.

To dilate on the metaphysical arguments involved in the two first questions would be needless; but on the last, concerning the propitiatory sacrifice in the mass, Cranmer was fully of opinion that to hold its affirmative was derogatory to the sacrifice on the cross. If the passion of Christ were sufficient for all the purposes of redemption, where was the necessity of any other? The necessity of any succeeding supplemental oblations supposed the sacrifice of Christ to be defective; and there could be no sacrifice under the Christian dispensation, except that of praise and thanksgiving, repentance, and works of charity.

The manner in which the disputation was terminated by the prolocutor may readily be anticipated: "Thus you see, brethren, the truth steadfast and invincible; you see also the craft and deceit

of heretics; the truth may be pressed, but cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, VINCIT VERITAS, THE TRUTH OVERCOMETH! "	A. D. 1554. <hr/> Mary. April 17.
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On the second day, Ridley was appointed to dispute, and his principal opponent was Smith. In the reign of Edward, it will be remembered that Smith was engaged in a disputation on the corporal presence with Peter Martyr, but, in consequence of a persecution against him, had left the kingdom. He had afterwards sent to Cramer a written recantation of the opinion which he had asserted with so much intemperance; but now he was prepared to join the triumphant Romanists, and once more to enter the lists as the defender of transubstantiation. In the judgment which Philpot had expressed in the convocation, that Ridley was the Coryphaeus of the protestant doctrines, it is impossible not to concur, from the manner in which he acquitted himself on this day. The want of books was not felt, in consequence of the tenacity of his memory, though of the strength of this faculty, as of all his other talents, he spoke with diffidence*. In his quotations from the fathers he was ready, and not less expert in rescuing them from the unfair interpretation of his antagonists. The line of argument which he pursued was not less judicious than his mode of managing it. Omitting the metaphysical arguments against transubstantiation, which often led the disputants on each side into profane allusions, he applied himself to ascertain the belief of the primitive church on this

* Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii.

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important doctrine *. The proposition which he established, by irrefragable proofs, was, that the Christian church, for the first nine centuries, had no universally received opinion concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist.

According to the account given by Ridley of the disputation, the greatest disorder prevailed, and it was interrupted by shouts, taunts, and reproaches: it resembled a stage of gladiators, rather than a school of divines; and the noise of the Sorbonne, which had offended him while he was at Paris, was moderate when compared with the tumult in the divinity school at Oxford. The disputation continued until the prolocutor was wearied, and he ended it in a strain similar to that of the preceding day: “ You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man; but you see also, that the force of truth cannot be shaken: wherefore cry out with me, TRUTH HAS THE VICTORY !”

Latimer was brought into the school on the third day; and he repeated what he had before said, that age had disqualified him from sustaining a disputation, but that he was willing to speak or to write his confession of faith. Whatever he had to say, he must say in English; for during the last

* Bertramn, or Ratramn, was again mentioned by Ridley as having first opened his eyes, or, in his own phrase, as “ the first that pulled me by the ear.” It was this author, he continues, “ which first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly, both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers.”

twenty years he had disused the Latin tongue *. He declared that, in his opinion, the presence of Christ in the sacrament was purely spiritual, but as to the doctrine of the corporal presence, he considered it to be the root of all the other errors of the church. He enlarged on the sacrament of the mass, and the abuse of private communion; he protested against denying the cup to the laity, and against worshipping God in an unknown tongue. He perceived that they laughed at him; but he besought them to consider his age, to which some of that assembly might hereafter attain. They pressed him earnestly to engage in an argument; but he persisted in his refusal, saying, that though his memory was weak, his faith was strong, and founded on the word of God. He entreated that he might be dismissed, and that they would deal with him as they chose. Weston, on his departure, appealed to the assembly in the same manner as he had done on the two preceding days: "Here you all see the weakness of heresy against truth."

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On the following day, Harpsfield kept an act for his doctor's degree, and giving out the two first questions as his exercise, Cranmer was permitted to appear a second time in the school as an opponent. The arguments were chiefly metaphysical, and, after Cranmer had sustained his part for some time, he was dismissed by the prolocutor with commendation.

Thus the disputations ended, and two days afterwards the three prisoners were once more brought

* He had disused Latin; he never understood Greek: "I know no Greek." Fox's Acts and Monuments, Life of Latimer.

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before the delegates at Saint Mary's church, and required to subscribe the articles. Weston having taunted Cranmer in particular with his failure in disputation, the archbishop replied, that he was overborne by numbers and clamour, but that his opinion was unchanged, and that he persisted in his refusal to subscribe. Ridley and Latimer gave a similar reply, and then a sentence of condemnation was read, in which they were denounced as heretics and favourers of heresy. Being asked whether they would return to the bosom of the church, while the sentence was reading, they severally appealed to heaven, not doubting that, though ejected from the Romish church, their names were enrolled in the blessed society above.

Before the prolocutor and the deputation left Oxford, Ridley requested to see the report which the notaries had taken of the disputation, and demanded permission to make corrections or additions to his statements and arguments: but this equitable request, though promised originally, was refused. Cranmer sent by Weston a petition, sealed and addressed to the council; but Weston, having carried it a part of the way, presumed to break the seal. Having read it, and disliking its contents, he sent it back to the archbishop, with a refusal to deliver it.

May 8.

The disputation, with the sentence of the delegates, were transmitted to the council, and the opinion of the judges was demanded, whether any ulterior measures might be legally taken? The three prisoners had been originally committed on a charge of different crimes, Cranmer for high treason, Ridley and Latimer for sedition, but

neither of them for heresy. Crammer had been already attainted for high treason, but Ridley and Latimer had not yet been brought to trial. In the present case, the three prisoners had been convicted of heresy and excommunicated by another tribunal, and by a court which sat under a royal warrant, but which was unknown to the law. The deputation without doubt consisted of members of the lower house of convocation, but the whole convocation had not a legal right to excommunicate two of its members, or even to try them for heresy.

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The authority of the pope was not yet restored in England, and the authority of the queen, in ecclesiastical matters, had been renounced by herself. She had prohibited the ecclesiastical courts from using her name in their processes, and the convocation was the highest ecclesiastical court both of judicature and legislation. The opinion of the judges was therefore required, and the purport of that opinion may be conjectured by the result. Proceedings against the three prisoners were stayed until a third parliament was called, and the authority of the pope was restored*.

The Romanists were so highly elated with the issue of the disputation at Oxford, that they were emboldened to attempt a similar exhibition at Cambridge. They meditated to carry down Hooper, the late bishop of Gloucester, Ferrar, bishop of Saint David's, with Philpot and Bradford; but the design was abandoned in consequence of a declaration published by the subjects of their anticipated triumph. The prisoners unanimously

* Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 513.

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refused to dispute except in the presence of the queen and council, or before either of the two houses of parliament. This refusal was supported by the following reasons: 1. It was clear that the determinations of the universities were already made, these two learned bodies having already shown their hostility to the reformers, having condemned the protestant cause without hearing it. 2. It was evident that the Romish prelates and clergy aimed rather at victory than truth, otherwise the protestant divines would have been fairly heard when they might have delivered their opinions without danger. 3. Those who were to be judges or moderators of the disputation were the inveterate enemies of the reformers, and by the transactions of the convocation in the last year, as well as from those which had lately taken place at Oxford, the treatment which they might expect at Cambridge could be easily foreseen. 4. They had been confined a long time in prison without books or papers, or a convenient place of study. 5. They knew that they should not be permitted to speak freely, but should be interrupted whenever their judges pleased. 6. They could not have the nomination of the notaries, who would on the contrary be chosen by their enemies, and consequently would make an incorrect and partial report of the proceedings.

These reasons had determined them not to engage in a public disputation; but still they were willing to state in writing a summary of their faith, in defence of which they were ready to offer themselves to the halter or the fire, as God should appoint. Their belief was, that the Scriptures were

the word of God, and the sole rule of controversy in matters of faith, and that the church is to be obeyed so long as she follows the Scriptures. They also professed their belief in the creed of the apostles, and the creeds set forth by the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and by the first and fourth councils of Toledo, and also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasius. They held the doctrine of justification by faith; and by faith they meant not merely an assent, but a certain persuasion, wrought by the Holy Ghost, which illuminated the mind, and softened the heart to submit itself unfeignedly to God. Though they acknowledged an inherent righteousness, yet they ascribed justification and the pardon of sin only to the imputed righteousness of Christ. They thought that the service should be performed in a tongue understood by the people; that Christ alone was the object of prayer, and therefore the saints should not be invoked; that immediately after death the soul passes either to the state of the damned or blessed, without any intermediate state of purgatory; that baptism and the Lord's supper are the two sacraments of Christ, which ought to be administered according to his institution, and therefore they condemned the refusal of the cup to the people, and also transubstantiation, adoration, and the sacrifice of the mass; and, finally, they asserted that marriage was lawful to every rank of men. These tenets they declared their readiness to defend, as they had often before offered to do, and concluded by admonishing the people not to engage

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in any rebellion against the queen, but to obey her in all points, except when her commands were contrary to the law of God.

While freedom of debate and even personal liberty were denied to the reformers, the church of Rome was anxiously expecting the consummation of her triumph over England. The ratification of the treaty of marriage between Philip and Mary was soon followed by the marriage itself. July 19. Philip landed at Southampton, where he received all the marks of respect and submission due to royalty; the queen met him at Winchester, where Gardiner solemnized their union. As soon as the solemnity was concluded, Figuera, the emperor's ambassador, presented Philip with his father's resignation of the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, and the king and queen were mutually proclaimed sovereigns of their respective dominions.

Although the Castilian haughtiness and reserve were unacceptable to the English, yet Philip attempted to relax, and to gain popular favour by extraordinary liberality, and by acts of grace and condescension. He brought with him an immense treasure*, which he dispensed with profuseness. At his first arrival he obtained the release of several persons of quality, among whom was the archbishop of York. In opposition to the advice of Gardiner, he asserted the innocence of lady Elizabeth, and Courtney, earl of Devonshire, in the rebellion of

* According to Stowe, twenty-seven chests of silver bullion, each chest being a yard and four inches long; and a few months after another remittance of gold and silver, which required ninety-nine horses and two carriages to convey it to the Tower.

Wyat, and procured for the earl a complete release, and for Elizabeth an enlargement of the restrictions imposed on her liberty.

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The third parliament of Mary was now assembled, through the intervention of which she expected to complete the reconciliation of England with the see of Rome. Whatever might be the secret wishes of Gardiner, he was compelled to dissemble, and to forward the inclinations of his sovereign. Cardinal Pole had remained in Germany during the last year, and had expressed great dissatisfaction at his detention; but before he could land on the English shore, it was necessary that his attainder should be reversed. To carry this measure through a parliament, which was prepared to make far greater sacrifices, and to surrender the liberties of England, was easy; and while the bill of repeal was in its progress, the lords Paget and Hastings were sent to conduct the cardinal to England.

Being now restored to all the rights and privileges of an English subject, Pole proceeded to revisit his native country after an absence of twenty years. What must have been his feelings on this occasion, it is impossible to describe. He entered the capital as a private person, without the solemnities of a legate; for the papal authority had not been yet recognised. The chief obstacle to its restoration was an apprehension entertained by the temporality, that it must be accompanied by a restitution of the monastic property; and to allay this fear, a promise was given by the king and queen, and private assurances were offered by the legate,

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that no infringement of the existing state of property was intended.

[Nov. 27.]

This preliminary being adjusted, Pole communicated the purport of his legation, and the powers with which he was intrusted, to the king and queen; and a royal message was then sent to the two houses of parliament, inviting their attendance to hear the cardinal deliver his legation. On account of the queen's indisposition, the parliament met in the great chamber at Whitehall, and the two sovereigns being seated in state, and the lords and commons in attendance, the lord chancellor, Gardiner, acquainted the two houses with the object of the cardinal's visit to England, adding a high encomium on his character.

After this recommendation the cardinal rose, and delivered a long and eloquent oration. Having first returned thanks to the queen and the two houses for the personal favour bestowed on himself, that of reversing his attainder, and of enabling him to appear before them with safety and honour, he informed them that, as they had been graciously pleased to restore him to his birthright, so his business was to restore the nation to its ancient dignity. He had been sent to the people of England by the common pastor of Christendom, to bring back those who had strayed so long from the fold of the church. "If we inquire into the English schism," continued the cardinal, "we shall find avarice and sensuality the principal motives, and that it was caused by the unbridled appetite and licentiousness of a single person. Though it was given out that there would be a vast accession of

wealth to the public, yet this expectation vanished. The crown was left in debt, and the subject, generally speaking, more impoverished than ever; and as to religion, the people were rigorously tied to forms, and fettered by penalties; and to speak plainly, there was more liberty of conscience in Turkey than in England." Though the apostolic see might have recovered its jurisdiction by force, and had the offer of the greatest princes in Europe to assist its just pretensions, yet this advantage was waved, and none but gentle expedients were adopted. Having asserted that the power of the keys, and the government of the church, belonged to the see of Rome by the delegation of Christ; and having enlarged on his legatine authority, he ended with a solemn declaration, that he had no prejudicial instructions against any person. "My commission," he said, "is not to pull down, but to build; to reconcile, not to censure; to invite without compulsion. My business is not to proceed by way of retrospection, or to question things already settled. As for past errors, they shall be overlooked and forgotten: but, to qualify yourselves for the pardon now offered, it is necessary to repeal those laws which have broken the catholic unity, and divided you from the society of the church."

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This speech, delivered with great dignity, could not fail of being heard with impression; and on the following day, the speaker reported the substance of the legate's speech, and a message was brought from the lords desiring a conference. At this conference a petition was prepared, and after having

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been previously submitted to a committee, received the assent of both houses*. It was in the form of a supplication to the king and queen, and contained an acknowledgment of the guilt which the nation had incurred by its "most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, and of sincere contrition for its error." As a proof of repentance, the parliament was ready to repeal all the laws enacted in prejudice of the holy see; and since the king and queen had not been defiled in any way by the schism of the nation, their intercession with the legate was earnestly implored, that England might receive absolution for her heresy, and be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church. This petition being presented to the king and queen by both houses on their knees, the desired intercession was made to the legate, which he graciously condescended to accept.

Nov. 30.

The acceptance of the royal mediation was announced by the cardinal in a speech to both houses. Having again thanked them for the personal favour shown to himself in reversing his attainder, he congratulated himself on being able to recompense the obligation by restoring them to the body of the church. Some of the members having risen, with a view of seconding the royal mediation, the cardinal, to spare them the mortification, prevented their request, and said, that he was ready to give the absolution which they had so earnestly im-

* Sir Ralph Bagnal refused to consent to the reconciliation of England with the see of Rome; many more in the house of commons were of the same mind, but had not courage to speak out. *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. fol. p. 204.

plored. After his legatine commission had been read *, he declared how acceptable the return of a sinner was to God Almighty, and that the holy angels rejoiced at the recovery of their kingdom; and then the members of both houses being on their knees, he pronounced a solemn absolution, releasing the whole realm from all the penalties of heresy and schism, and restoring it to the unity of the holy church, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

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After the absolution was pronounced, a solemn procession was made to the chapel royal, where a *Te Deum* was sung; and because this reconciliation to the communion of the catholic church took place on Saint Andrew's day, the cardinal procured an ordinance to be passed in convocation, for observing the festival annually, with all the solemnity of the greater holydays. The remainder of the day was spent in festivity, and on the following Sunday the submission of the two houses of parliament to the papal authority, and the absolution given by the cardinal, was repeated by the lord chancellor, in a sermon at Saint Paul's cross. Among other matters, he told his auditory, that when king Henry the Eighth was pressed with a rebellion in the north, he resolved to restore the pope's supremacy; but this resolution came to nothing; the hour was not yet come; for had the matter been adjusted under such circumstances of difficulty, some would have said, that the king had been overawed into justice. After this, himself and Knevet were sent ambassadors to the emperor,

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. Appendix, No. 73.

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to request his mediation between the pope and the king ; but the time was not yet come ; for his compliance at that crisis might have been construed into motives of state policy. In the beginning of king Edward's reign, the business of reconciliation was moved, but neither was that a proper time ; for the king being then a child, he could not have had a share in the submission. But the present was in every respect the fit time, which Providence seemed to have reserved for so great a blessing.

An embassy was then sent to the pope, offering a tender of the submission of England to the holy see ; and when the intelligence of the reconciliation reached Rome, a solemn procession was ordered to take place throughout all Italy. The pope confirmed the proceedings of his legate, and proclaimed a jubilee, with a clause in the bull to account for anticipating the period. Like the father of the prodigal, he said, that it was fit to express an unusual joy for the recovery of the son which was lost*.

The parliament performed with fidelity the conditions on which the absolution had been granted, and by a single act† repealed all the laws enacted in prejudice of the holy see, since the twentieth year of Henry the Eighth, and the obnoxious statutes were specifically enumerated. But to quiet all suspicion, and to remove all occasion of discontent, the convocation was prevailed on to address the king and queen, praying them to intercede with the legate, that the restitution of church

* Fr. Paolo, Hist. Conc. Trent.

† Stat. 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 9.

lands might not be enforced. The address was presented to the legate by the lord chancellor, the prolocutor, and six other members of the lower house; and the parliament, in the bill of repeal, moved, in the form of an address to the king and queen, that the cardinal, by virtue of his commission, might dispense in the following cases: first, that all bishoprics, cathedrals, colleges, hospitals, and schools, legally established since the schism, might be confirmed; secondly, that marriages contracted within such degrees as are not contrary to the laws of God might be confirmed, and the issue declared legitimate; thirdly, that all institutions to benefices, and other ecclesiastical promotions, might be valid; fourthly, that all judicial processes in the ecclesiastical courts, made according to the laws of the realm, might be ratified; and, fifthly, that all alienations of the lands belonging to any bishoprics, monasteries, or other religious houses, might continue as they were, without molestation from any ecclesiastical censures, canons, or constitutions*.

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The cardinal granted a full confirmation of all these articles, but in the conclusion of the dispensation, laid a heavy charge on those who had ecclesiastical property in their hands to make restitution. Parliament was not remiss in enforcing this charge, for, to encourage benefactions to the church, the statute of mortmain was repealed for the next twenty years.

Although the church of Rome was now established by law, yet it had still to encounter the

* Stat. 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8.

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formidable opposition of public opinion. The learning and piety of the reformed clergy could not but command the respect even of their enemies, and by their assiduity in their pastoral care, they had not only gained the affection of the people, but the people had made considerable advances in religious knowledge, and it was impossible to bring them back to the gross superstition in which they had been formerly enveloped. Since, therefore, there was so large a body of the English nation not to be brought under the authority of the Romish church, even by the example of their sovereigns, and the authority of a parliament, it was a question worthy of deliberation, how so considerable a number of schismatics ought to be reclaimed.

There were now two parties both in the church and in the state, respectively headed by Pole and Gardiner. Pole had once been suspected, if not of an inclination to the protestant doctrines, yet of an improper lenity towards the protestants. Under his present delicate position, as it regarded the English government and the apostolic see, he was compelled to alter his outward demeanour, though the liberality of his temper was the same. He knew the jealousy with which he was regarded by Gardiner, who would not fail to misrepresent his actions, and to embroil him, if possible, with the queen, or with the see of Rome. For this reason, he was solicitous to express in public his detestation of heresy, and in private he restrained his natural love of society, and freedom of conversation, admitted few Englishmen into his familiarity, but lived chiefly with two Italians, whom

he had brought over with him, and who had long shared his confidence and followed his fortunes, Priuli and Ormaneto. The friendship of one of his countrymen he still cultivated, the ex-secretary Cecil. With the accession of Mary, Cecil had quitted public life; he was known to be attached to the protestant faith, and therefore refused to take a share in the new government. His retirement was gladdened by the congenial society of Pole, and the intimacy of Cecil and Pole must be recorded, as being equally honourable to both.

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Whatever abhorrence Pole was compelled to express against heresy, yet with respect to the treatment of heretics, he hesitated not to profess himself an enemy to all severity. Pastors, he said, ought to have compassion on their straying sheep; bishops were fathers who ought to reclaim their undutiful children. There was a wide distinction between a nation uninfected with heresy, and a nation overrun with heretical teachers. The people were not to be brought back from their errors either suddenly or violently, but time must be allowed before they could be expected to return. Therefore he proposed to begin the work of reformation by correcting the manners of the clergy. In every country of Christendom, he had observed that the vices and ignorance of the priesthood had been the cause of heretical doctrines, and his aim and intention was to revive the discipline of the primitive church.

Gardiner, as well from natural disposition as from rivalry to Pole, advised a different course: he proposed that the penal laws against heretics should be enforced; for he was convinced that

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error could be repressed only by timely severity. He well remembered that the Lollards had increased when cardinal Wolsey remitted the execution of the old statutes against heresy; and that when the statute of the six articles was passed, many heretics either openly recanted, or submitted in silence. He was confident that the preachers of the new doctrines then in prison would comply rather than suffer the extremity of punishment, or that a few examples would operate as a salutary warning to the rest. He was not disposed to deny that the clergy wanted a reformation; but care should be taken that such a notion might not be avowed publicly, since a clamour would be raised, and an aversion of the people from their pastors would be encouraged.

The queen adopted as much of the counsel both of Pole and Gardiner as corresponded with her own inclination. She encouraged Pole to go on with his design of correcting the manners of the clergy, and of reviving primitive discipline, and she instigated Gardiner to proceed with severity against heretics. Pole, when the bishops waited on him at Lambeth to receive his benediction, exhorted them to return to their respective charges, and to treat their flocks with gentleness. Gardiner, as lord chancellor, possessed a control over the legatine authority of Pole, and, as the chief law officer of the realm, prepared to suppress heresy by a vigorous execution of the statutes.

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The house of commons, which had been foremost in the late compliances, and had even outstript the Romish bishops in their zeal for the Romish religion, had revived all the statutes of

Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth against heretics*. Those princes who incorporated into the penal code the sanguinary laws against heretics, were also distinguished for their resistance against papal usurpation. The first sovereign of the Lancastrian line, while he condemned the Lollards to the flames, rigidly enforced the law against those who obtained provisors from Rome; it was reserved for the reign of Mary to connect the restoration of the papal supremacy with the revival of persecution on account of conscience.

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* Stat. 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Marian Persecution.—Its Duration.—Numbers who suffered.—Rogers, the Protomartyr in the Protestant Cause.—Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.—Sanders and Taylor.—Ferrar, Bishop of Saint David's.—Bradford, and his Controversy with his Fellow-Prisoners concerning Predestination.—Cranmer cited to appear before the Pope's Sub-Delegate—Ridley and Latimer before the Representative of Cardinal Pole.—Death of Ridley and Latimer.—Death of Gardiner.—Of Philpot.—Recantation and Death of Cranmer.—Pole succeeds to the See of Canterbury.—Ecclesiastical Administration of Pole.—Death of Mary and of Pole.

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IF a recital of the following events served no other purpose than to exasperate and inflame, to revive animosities which ought to be forgotten, and to cherish a remembrance which ought to be obliterated, the abridgment or even the suppression of the narrative could require no apology. Different, however, is the spirit in which the Christian recalls to his memory those illustrious confessors of their faith, "of whom the world was not worthy." Let his feeling be analyzed; and though, like every human feeling, every human motive, and every human action, it is not unalloyed, yet it is salutary; for it is pious and it is charitable. Gratitude to God, the giver of every good gift; reverence for his chosen servants, on whom He bestowed such an abundant measure of holy fortitude; steadfastness in that religion, for which they were contented to resign "life itself;" these are the sentiments which pre-

dominate in his mind, and abhorrence of the persecutor is completely extinguished in admiration of the martyr.

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In detailing the Marian persecution of the reformers, far be it from any protestant to aggravate its severity or its guilt; let him convert it to a more noble end, to strengthen his conviction, and to animate his courage. But, at the same time, let him not shrink from vindicating the martyrology of the church of England, through fear of incurring the scoffs of the infidel, or the rage of the bigot; let him show that the characters of those who are recorded in its pages are deserving of that veneration with which he regards them; and that, though their qualities were different, and their talents unequal*, yet they were all placed far above the suspicion of folly or fanaticism.

The Marian persecution, with respect to its duration, lasted four years, beginning with the reconciliation of England to the see of Rome, and ending only with the life of Mary. There were undoubtedly short intervals of remission in cruelty; for it was observed that, during the session of par-

* Comparisons, I know, are odious, and the more so when made betwixt persons of eminence; however, to such as peruse the whole story, the following proportions will appear true. Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best born gentleman; bishop Ridley the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of the meekest and mildest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austere nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart. Oh! the variety of these instruments! Oh! their joint harmony in a concert to God's glory! Fuller's Church History, b. x.

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liament, the chief actors abated in their fury, but when the parliament had risen, the work of destruction began with renewed zeal*.

The numbers of those who suffered have been differently estimated. The author of the preface† to a treatise by Ridley on the Lord's supper asserts that, in the two first years of this reign, more than eight hundred were put to death on account of religion: Fox has calculated the whole amount, and stated it far below this: but the authority on which the historian will be disposed to rely is that of Cecil‡; he affirms, that those who died by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, were nearly four hundred §.

Rogers has the honour of being the protomartyr in the cause of the protestant faith. Cambridge was the place of his education; but, at an early period of life, he was appointed chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. Having there formed an acquaintance with Tindal and Coverdale, he assisted them in their translation of the Bible, and having been convinced, by a diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures, that "marriage is honourable in all," he entered into that state. Quitting his chaplaincy at Antwerp, he had afterwards the

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. ii.

† The author is William Whittingham, one of the exiles.

‡ In his book, entitled "The Execution of Justice."

§ Bishop Burnet reckons the number of sufferers to be two hundred and eighty-four. But Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, vol. iii. Appendix, has preserved an exact catalogue of the numbers, the places, and times of execution. They are as follows: 1555, 71; 1556, 89; 1557, 88; 1558, 40. Total, 288.

charge of a Dutch congregation at Wittenburg, until the accession of Edward the Sixth, when he was induced to return to England. Ridley distinguished him by his patronage, and having been appointed by that prelate a prebendary of Saint Paul's, the chapter elected him their lecturer in divinity. Soon after the accession of Mary, he delivered a sermon in the cathedral of Saint Paul, in which he fearlessly asserted the doctrines which he had long taught, and exhorted the people to continue in them, and to beware of popery, idolatry, and superstition. When he preached this sermon, the protestant was the established faith, and the assertion of the protestant doctrines, far from being a crime, was a duty. Yet he was summoned before the council to answer for his conduct, but defended himself with such resolution that he was dismissed.

Immediately after the proclamation for prohibiting unlicensed preachers, Rogers was again summoned before the council, and commanded to remain a prisoner in his own house. By his friends, who knew that he was peculiarly obnoxious to the government, he was exhorted, while he was yet at liberty, to provide for his safety and to fly; but, though he had an infant family, he refused to desert his public duty as a minister of the gospel. At length, by the instigation of Boner, he was removed from his own house to Newgate, where he remained until a resolution was adopted by the government of enforcing the statutes against heresy. As he was esteemed one of the most learned among the reformers, he was first selected to render an account of his faith, and to undergo the trial

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whether he would renounce his opinions, or confirm them by his death. Accordingly, he was brought before the council, and, having displayed the most undaunted courage in his vindication of the protestant faith, was condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power. Before his execution, he requested that he might be allowed an interview with his wife, in order to receive his last injunctions concerning the education of his children; but his request was refused, with the taunt that she was not his wife. When brought to the stake at Smithfield, he was not permitted to speak to the people, but he exhorted those around him to continue with steadfastness in that faith for which he was about to suffer. After the usual form, a pardon was offered to him at the stake if he would recant; but he refused it with inflexible constancy, and cheerfully met death*.

Hooper, the late bishop of Gloucester, was condemned† on the same day with Rogers; but to aggravate his punishment, as it was supposed, he was sent down to the city over which he once presided. The determination was received with joy, since he hoped that, by his death, he might confirm the faith of those over whom he had been constituted the spiritual director. During his confinement, he had been solaced by the affectionate communications of Ridley. These two prelates

* Acts and Monuments.

† He was condemned on three separate points; first, for maintaining the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy; secondly, for his doctrine concerning divorce; and, thirdly, for denying the corporal presence. See Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 2. Appendix, No. 35. b. v.

had formerly disagreed on the question of the vestments; but all minor differences were now subdued by their conscientious devotion to the same great truths of the gospel. That each of these eminent men retained his opinion on the question which had once divided them is evident: there is no reason to suppose that Hooper was reconciled to the use of the prescribed habits; and Ridley gave his last testimony to their propriety by going to the stake in his episcopal attire. But the latter, after having excused his remissness in leaving two letters unanswered, which Hooper had written to him, thus adverted to the subject with his wonted delicacy: “But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree, and wholly consent, in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against which the world so furiously rages in these our days; howsoever, in times past, in certain bye matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity, I grant, hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured that, even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truth’s sake which abideth in us, and as I am persuaded shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for ever*.”

The firmness of Hooper was assailed in his last moments by the usual temptation of placing before his eyes the royal pardon, on condition of his re-

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* Acts and Monuments. Coverdale’s Letters of the Martyrs.

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cantation ; but, on seeing it, he exclaimed, “ If you love my soul, away with it.” The treatment which Hooper experienced was aggravated by the circumstance, that he was one of the most forward in supporting the title of Mary to the crown. To his own unimpeachable loyalty and fidelity he thus appealed feelingly in his dying moments: “ I am no traitor ; neither needed you to have forced me to the place where I must suffer, for if ye had willed I would have gone thither alone.”

Sanders was next condemned, and suffered at Coventry ; and Taylor was burnt in his own parish of Hadleigh. When he was at the stake, he told his flock that he had taught them nothing but God’s holy word, and that he was now about to seal his doctrine with his blood. His address was interrupted by one of the guards, who struck him on the head, and his devotions were disturbed in a similar manner.

At this period, Gardiner seems to have relented ; he had always contended that the dread of the flames would induce the reformers to recant, or that a few instances of severity would bring the rest to a compliance. But, even in this early stage of persecution, he perceived that he had formed an erroneous estimate of the courage and sincerity of the reformers. To stop the progress of that persecution which he had instigated was beyond his power ; but he was contented to resign the management and, if possible, the responsibility of the sanguinary work to Boner, who was not troubled by any “ compunctious visitings of nature.”

The whole nation was astonished and panic-stricken at the events which had already taken

place. Even those who were indifferent concerning religion were startled at seeing the severity of these proceedings, and the blame of promoting them was, in the public opinion, divided. The queen, on her accession, had issued a declaration that she would not compel any of her subjects to embrace her own faith; but Gardiner and the other privy-counsellors exonerated themselves from the charge of persecution, and publicly averred that they were only instruments under a higher direction. Philip was loaded with the heaviest weight of censure; the haughtiness and reserve of his demeanour, his national bigotry, and his hereditary antipathy to the reformation, conspired to fasten on him the principal guilt. So deeply involved was he in the imputation, that his confessor, a Franciscan friar*, largely inveighed in a sermon against persecution on account of religion. In plain terms, he laid the charge on the English bishops, and farther said, that they never could have learned the lesson in the holy Scriptures. The word of God inculcated a different doctrine, that gainsayers should be instructed in the spirit of meekness, and not that they should be burned, under a pretext of rescuing them from eternal fire†.

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The bishops were surprised to find that these proceedings were condemned by a Spanish friar, and thought themselves obliged to protest that they had no participation in advising this persecution. And, in fact, the sermon of the friar could

* Alphonso à Castro, well known for his treatise "*De Hæresibus*."

† Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. ii. b. 2.

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not turn the current of public opinion. The king and queen were justly considered as the chief agents; and undeniable evidence* remains to prove that both these sovereigns addressed a letter to Boner, complaining of the remissness of the bishops in punishing heretics, and requiring them to proceed to extremities, if milder methods were unsuccessful.

May 24.

The first intermission of persecution was short, and it was soon renewed with greater fury. It is painful to relate, that Boner was not only active in procuring the conviction of heretics, but that he delighted in inflicting tortures on the condemned to procure a recantation. In some cases he resorted to mercenary arguments, and offered, without success, a considerable sum to a youth judicially accused before him.

From many of inferior rank who were sacrificed at this second period, must be selected Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, a man of uncouth manners, and of domestic habits not suitable to his sacred function. In the reign of Edward, articles had been exhibited against him, but the frivolous and absurd nature of some of these charges induces a suspicion that the whole were the offspring of malignity. They were, notwithstanding, thought of sufficient importance to justify his commitment to prison, and he continued a prisoner throughout the whole reign. When Mary succeeded, he was brought before Gardiner, and, it is thought, that if his deportment had been conciliatory, he might have secured his life without any sacrifice of con-

* Acts and Monuments. Rapin's Hist. of England. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. b. 2. Appendix, No. 20.

science; but his uncourtly behaviour provoked Gardiner to leave him to the law. He was carried from London to Caermarthen, and condemned as a heretic by Morgan, his successor, for marrying after having taken monastic vows; for maintaining justification by faith only; and for denying transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. Having made an appeal to cardinal Pole, which was rejected, he suffered with extraordinary courage, declaring that his inflexibility in enduring his torments should be the test of his own sincerity, and of the truth of his doctrines.

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March 30.

A second interval of persecution now occurred, yet it was not of long duration, and the third period was marked by the death of Bradford. The name of this divine is connected with a controversy which at this time unhappily existed among the reformers, and which was continued long after Bradford and his opponents were no more. He was a prebendary of Saint Paul's, and was, in the reign of Edward, a celebrated preacher; but he is said, and perhaps without extravagance, to have rendered as much service to the reformation by his letters in prison, as by his discourses from the pulpit *. He was often removed from one prison to another, but wherever he was confined, he so far conciliated his keepers, that they suffered him to preach and to administer the communion to his fellow-prisoners.

In doctrine Bradford was a supralapsarian; but many of those who were in confinement for the profession of the gospel denied absolute prede-

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. c. 3.

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stination, and asserted free will. They were men of strict and holy lives, but warm in their opinions, and not gentle in their mode of asserting those tenets which they sincerely believed *. Bradford, not less fixed in his own belief, was apprehensive that the tenets of his opponents would be highly injurious, if propagated, and set himself to oppose them in a treatise on “the holy election and predestination of God.” In concert with Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot, at the time when he sent his treatise, he wrote to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, then imprisoned at Oxford, soliciting their advice and agreement, and stating, that if they gave their testimony of approbation to the treatise, “the rest of the eminent ministers in and about London were ready to sign it also †.”

There are no documents by which the sentiments of Cranmer and Latimer can be ascertained; but fortunately a letter from Ridley to Bradford still remains, and which clearly shows the opinion of that eminent prelate on the abstruse questions, concerning which Bradford contended with so much intemperate eagerness. That Bradford, in the

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. c. 3. Their names were Hart, Trew, and Abingdon. Trew wrote an account of the “contention,” which has been published by archbishop Lawrence, in the first volume of his tracts, from a manuscript in the Bodleian library.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer. “Upon this occasion, Ridley wrote a treatise of God's predestination and election, and Bradford wrote another upon the same subject, and sent it to these three fathers in Oxford for their approbation; and THEIRS BEING OBTAINED, *the rest of the eminent ministers in and about London were willing to sign it also.*” The words of Strype are conditional, and not affirmative.

judgment of Ridley, laid too great a stress on these doctrines, is indisputable: Ridley thought that Bradford had over-rated both "the importance of the controversy and the influence of his adversaries *." But it may be also fairly concluded, from the letter of Ridley, that he could not go so far as Bradford in the doctrines of election and predestination. After having stated that he had selected all the passages in the New Testament which had a bearing on these points, and that he had written remarks on the several texts, he summed up the matter in a sentence, which, for its moderation and its humility, can never be repeated without good effect: "In those matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak farther; yea, almost none otherwise than the text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand †." Whether Bradford retained his sentiments is immaterial; for if he did not change his opinions, he moderated his violence. When he found that he was unable to convince his fellow-sufferers, he desired that they might pray for each other. "I love you," he wrote to them, "though you have taken it otherwise without cause; I am going before you to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home ‡."

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Another sufferer, named Careless, and Philpot, the late archdeacon of Winchester, were involved in the same controversy; and the awful state of these prisoners, all in bonds for their adherence to the protestant faith, and all in expectation of an ex-

July.

* Wordsworth's *Ecclesiast. Biog. Life of Ridley*. Note.

† Coverdale's *Letters of the Martyrs*, pp. 64. 65. ed. 1564.

‡ Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. c. 3.

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cruciating death, could not check their propensity to disputation on questions the most remote from practice, even if they were not beyond the reach of human comprehension. They wrote against one another during their imprisonment, and were anxious to give publicity to their dissensions. Their unchristian conduct gave advantage to their common enemies, the papists: these could now retort, that there was no security against error but within the pale of the catholic church, and that intolerance was inseparably connected with heresy.

After many other victims had been consigned to the flames, the three illustrious confessors of the protestant faith, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were called to bear their final testimony. More than a year had elapsed since their disputation, and from that period they had continued in imprisonment at Oxford. They were confined in separate prisons, and of the three "concaptives," Ridley enjoyed the least liberty. Since the decision of the judges, that the court by which they were condemned as heretics had no authority to pronounce such a sentence, and that it had no validity, their fate appears to have been undecided, but they considered it as certain. The serenity with which they awaited the approach of death in its most terrible form was indeed wonderful, and may infuse courage into the feeble-minded, and strike awe into the profane. A letter from Ridley to Grindal, once his friend and chaplain, but now in exile, proves that he was not only prepared for the event, but also for the time. Pole and Gardiner had been sent on an embassy to France, and the queen was in daily expectation of issue: as soon

as the ambassadors had returned, and the delivery of the queen had taken place, the three prelates expected their final release *.

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The last event, for the security of the protestant religion, never happened; the first was, according to the expectation of Ridley, the harbinger of their triumphant end. The bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, having received a special commission from the pope, and a licence from the king and queen, repaired to Oxford. These prelates had authority to receive Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer into the bosom of the church, in case they recanted their heretical errors; but in case of contumacy, had authority to degrade them from their spiritual functions, and to deliver them for punishment to the secular power.

The bishop of Gloucester presided in the process against Cranmer, acting as sub-delegate to the cardinal de Puteo; but in the process against Ridley and Latimer, the bishop of Lincoln presided, acting as the representative of cardinal Pole. Cranmer was first cited to appear before the commissioners, and the place of their session was the choir of Saint Mary's church. On the right hand of the president was seated Martin, and on his left hand Storey, two doctors of civil law, and attending as commissioners in behalf of the king and queen †." Sept. 12.

* Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ quem jam quotodie expectamus, et jam aliquamdiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloriâ dignetur bene illi fortunari, nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphalis, in Domino coronas expectamus. Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs.

† There was a previous meeting of the commissioners in Saint Mary's church, on Monday, September 9, as appears from

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The archbishop having been brought before the commissioners, under the custody of the mayor, was cited to answer certain accusations of blasphemy, incontinence, and heresy. On his first appearance, being habited as a doctor in divinity, and having taken a survey of those who were constituted his judges, he acknowledged, by outward marks of reverence, the commissioners of the king and queen; but on being admonished to show a similar mark of respect to the delegate of the pope, he answered, that he had taken a solemn oath never to admit the authority of the pope within the realm of England. This oath he intended, by the grace of God, to keep, and would never consent, by any sign or token, to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction. By this refusal he disclaimed any personal offence to the bishop, whom he would have honoured as well as the others, if he had the same commission.

A long oration was then delivered by the president, in the proemium of which he declared, that he was sent by the pope, and by the king and queen, on a message of peace and kindness; and if his embassy proved successful, it would be a matter of the greatest joy and comfort to himself. He then gave a highly-coloured description of the conduct of Cranmer, while he occupied the high station of archbishop of Canterbury, reproaching the arch-

bishop Brookes's official report of this whole process, transmitted by him to Rome to the cardinal de Putco, whose delegate he was. The business of that day was to open the commission, to cite the archbishop, and to agree upon other preliminaries -- Lambeth MSS. No. 1136. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*. Note, vol. iii. p. 517. 1st ed.

bishop with having yielded to the unlawful desires of Henry the Eighth. This was the beginning of his error, and the cause of his future calamities. "When," said the president, addressing himself to Cranmer, "you had forsaken God, God forsook you, and gave you over unto your own will, and suffered you to fall from schism to apostasy, from apostasy to heresy, from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so in conclusion into the full indignation of our sovereign prince, which you may think a just punishment of God for your abominable opinions."

Martin followed Brookes in the same course of argument. He said, that he and his colleague, Storey, appeared on behalf of the king and the queen, that these two sovereigns had returned to the unity of the true and catholic church, and had petitioned the pope to resort to this process; but he added, that the most ample benefit of the laws should be allowed to the archbishop. At the conclusion of his speech, he exhibited certain articles, containing charges of adultery and perjury, and of editing heretical books, composed either by Cranmer himself, or by his encouragement and authority.

The archbishop having obtained licence to reply, he first fell on his knees with his face toward the west, and repeated the Lord's prayer, then rising, he recited the articles of the creed. This done, he offered a protestation, which, by his desire, was recorded, that whatever answer he might make, was not to be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome within

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the realm of England. After his protestation, he began by paying a due tribute to the learning and eloquence of the bishop of Gloucester, though he refused to submit to the delegate of the pope. It was not his intention to impugn the elaborate representation of his conduct into which the bishop had entered. He acknowledged with thankfulness all the blessings of God, and did not praise him less for his present affliction than for his past prosperity. The greatest grief which he at this time felt was to see the degradation of the majesty of England. The proctors of the king and queen were his accusers before a subject of their own, and that subject receiving his commission from a foreign power. The jurisdiction of the pope was so incompatible with the sovereignty of the king, that to be true to both was impossible; and he then emphatically asked, "ALAS! WHAT HATH THE POPE TO DO IN ENGLAND?" He reflected with anguish on the conduct of the queen, who took a solemn oath, on the day of her coronation, to observe all the laws and liberties of England, and had since taken an oath to maintain the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. The sovereignty of England was incompatible with the supremacy of the pope, and the two oaths were consequently so contradictory, that in respect of one of them she must be forsworn. It was absurd to say, that the spiritual and temporal authority might be independent of each other, for he adduced many instances of opposition between the laws of the realm and the pontifical law. On this account, he would never consent to admit the authority of the pope, whatever name it might

assume, into the realm of England; an authority derogatory from its dignity, and subversive of its liberties.

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As for the heresy with which he had been charged, he was ignorant that he had maintained any; but if it were heretical to deny the authority of the pope, then the apostles and ancient fathers were guilty of heresy. The pope had introduced gods of his own creation, and boasted that by his canons and decrees he could dispense against Peter, against Paul, against the Old and New Testaments, and in the plenitude of his power may do as much as God.

Concerning the sacrament, he had taught no false doctrine; for if it could be proved from any ancient writer of an older date than the tenth century, that the body of Christ was carnally present in the sacrament, he would confess his error. His book on the sacrament was written seven years since, and it still was unanswered. He ended by saying, that a long meditation on the words of his blessed Saviour had subdued all fears for his personal safety, and quoted this passage of Scripture: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will my Father confess before the holy angels."

The archbishop then required the commissioners for the king and queen to report all that he had said on the contradiction between the two oaths of maintaining the liberties of the kingdom, and the supremacy of the pope. To the bishop of Gloucester he made a particular appeal, accusing this prelate of perjury since he sat there as judge on behalf of the pope, though he had received his bishopric from the king. Brookes having retorted

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that Cranmer had been the cause of his perjury, by persuading him to swear to the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry the Eighth, the archbishop triumphantly repelled the imputation. He proved before the whole assembly, and without an attempt of contradiction from Brookes, that the supremacy was conceded to Henry the Eighth by his predecessor Warham; that the question had been proposed to both universities; that both universities had agreed in asserting the supremacy of the king, and in denying the pope's jurisdiction within the realm of England; and that Brookes, then a doctor in divinity, was among the subscribers. While the archbishop made this reply he stood, and wore his cap.

Storey, the other proctor, began a reply to the archbishop, in which he showed himself a better lawyer than a logician. Having truly said, that as parliament had restored the canon law, it was now a part of the law of the realm, he moved that the prisoner should be compelled to give a categorical answer to the articles alleged against him. Some conference having taken place between Cranmer and Martin, the articles, in number sixteen, were exhibited, and to each a direct answer was given by Cranmer. A more particular examination commenced on some of the articles, particularly on the oath of obedience to the pope, which Cranmer swore on his promotion to the primacy, and the protestation which he made in contradiction to that oath. Cranmer said, that his protestation was made after advice with the king himself, and according to the suggestion of the most experienced civilians.

Cranmer having repeated his protestation, that

by giving his answers, he intended not to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, the examination was closed. The president summed up the proceedings, and Storey having moved that witnesses should be called to depose against the prisoner's heresy, the court was adjourned to the following day. On the second session, the witnesses having been sworn, and their depositions having been received, the archbishop was asked if he had any exceptions to make against their credibility. The archbishop objected against all, as having all been guilty of perjury, for all had taken an oath against the authority of the pope. But this objection having been overruled, the session and the process were closed, by reading a citation* of the archbishop to Rome within fourscore days, to make his personal answers to the articles exhibited against him. The archbishop said he would willingly go, with the permission of the king and queen; but he was immediately remanded to his prison.

The proceedings against Cranmer were only part of a process inchoate in England, but to be concluded at Rome. Cardinal Putco was the pope's delegate, and Brookes sat as sub-delegate. But the process against Ridley and Latimer was to be commenced and concluded in England; and a commission from cardinal Pole was directed to the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, with full power to examine the two prisoners on their

* The citation took place on Saturday, September 7, 1555, before the commencement of the process; but it was no doubt read again in open court at its conclusion.—Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iii. *Life of Cranmer*. Note, p. 570, 1st edit.

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heretical opinions, to receive them into the church on repentance, and, in case of contumacy, to deliver them to the secular power.

In pursuance of this commission, both the prisoners were cited to appear; and the court held its session, not in Saint Mary's church, as in the case of Cranmer, but in the divinity school. Ridley first appeared; and, while the commission was read by a notary, the prisoner stood uncovered, until he heard the name of cardinal Pole read as legate of the pope, and then he put on his cap. The bishop of Lincoln, offended by this conduct, reminded him that, however the commissioners might excuse any outward mark of disrespect towards themselves, yet, as the representatives both of the pope and of his legate, they could not pass over any contempt towards such high authorities. Unless, therefore, the prisoner voluntarily rendered the customary marks of respect, his cap should be taken from him.

Ridley vindicated himself from any personal disrespect towards the commissioners, or contempt of cardinal Pole. "The cardinal," said Ridley, "I know to be worthy of all reverence and honour, on account of his high descent, his great learning, and many virtues. In acknowledgment of these excellent qualities,"—taking off his hat, and bowing his knee—"I thus show my respect; but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome,"—and here he again put on his cap—"I utterly refuse to show him any reverence, lest, by so doing, I should commit an action contrary to my oath, and derogatory from the word of God."

This explanation was far from satisfactory to the

commissioners; and the bishop of Lincoln admonished him a second time, to show the usual marks of reverence towards the pope and the cardinal, the pope's legate, and told him that, unless he consented to take off his cap, it should be taken from him, except he alleged sickness as the reason for remaining covered. The plea of sickness Ridley disdained, and repeated the reason of his refusal. "In taking my cap from me," said the undaunted prelate, "do as it should seem fit to your lordships, and I shall be content." After a third admonition, the bishop of Lincoln directed one of the beadles to take off the prisoner's cap, and Ridley, gently bowing his head, patiently submitted while the officer did his duty.

The bishop of Lincoln then proceeded to explain the design for which the court sat, and the nature of the commission. He and his brethren were sent to restore two heretics to the unity of the church. After reminding Ridley that he was once a member of the church of Rome, he added, "It is no strange country whither I exhort you to return; you were once of us." "I was myself," observed the bishop, "in the house of the present lord chancellor, unknown to you, when you came to persuade him to agree in your new doctrine of justification by faith only. The lord chancellor, after your departure, told me the object of your visit, and, among the other arguments by which you attempted to persuade him, mentioned the following: You said, this matter of justification was but a trifle, and that it might be conceded; but the verity of the sacrament you exhorted the chancellor firmly

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To this statement, before it was completely ended, Ridley obtained permission to offer an explanation. He readily acknowledged that he was once of the same way of thinking with the Romanists, concerning the corporal presence in the eucharist; but the purport of his interview with Gardiner, the present lord chancellor, was either misunderstood or misrepresented. "I was sent," Ridley explained, "by the council to my lord of Winchester, to persuade him to receive the true doctrine of justification. Seeing his obstinacy, I pressed him with this argument, that he saw many anabaptists opposing the sacrament of the altar, and that his firmness might be shown by withstanding them. It was in this sense that I advised the lord chancellor to be firm in defence of the sacrament, against the detestable errors of the anabaptists, and not in defence of that gross and carnal opinion maintained by the church of Rome."

With equal success he vindicated himself against a vulgar misconception of a sermon delivered by him at St. Paul's Cross. In that discourse he was commonly supposed to have asserted the doctrine of transubstantiation; but he clearly proved that he only inculcated the salutary doctrine, that the body and blood of Christ are spiritually received in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. These words had been wrested by the unlearned into an assertion of the corporal presence*.

* It was the fate of Ridley to be injured by the calumnies of protestants as well as papists. Thus he was accused by Fox

After the conference had been protracted to a considerable length, the bishop of Lincoln proposed certain articles, to which he required from the prisoner a categorical answer. The instructions of the commissioners were to demand an affirmative or a negative, without any reasons assigned. Ridley was allowed until the next morning to give his answers, and the articles were the same as those on which the disputation had taken place in the preceding year.

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But when there had been some consultation among the commissioners, the bishop of Lincoln required an immediate answer to the first article; and when Ridley objected, that this sudden demand was an infringement of their own stipulation, the court promised that his answers should not be interpreted to his prejudice, but on the next day he might have liberty to correct them. Ridley was prepared to give his answer at once, and without consideration; but required that his protestation should be recorded against interpreting his compliance into a recognition of the papal authority; and, saving his protestation, he delivered his answers to each of the articles. On all but the first his answers were precise; but on the first he was required to state his meaning more clearly on the following day. In the mean time, he was allowed the use of pen and ink, and such books as he wanted, if they could be procured. He was then dismissed, and consigned to the custody of the mayor.

of having been present at the celebration of mass while a prisoner in the Tower. If his own denial of this calumny, in a letter to Bradford, be not a sufficient exculpation, the silence of the commissioners is an irrefragable proof of its falsehood.

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Latimer was then summoned; but his examination was comparatively short. He pleaded his age and past sufferings as a reason why he ought not to be detained; but, on being provoked to a conference, he shewed that his learning was not contemptible, though accompanied by rusticity of manner, and that his mind was unimpaired by age. With a becoming seriousness, he repressed the untimely levity of the hearers, whose mirth was excited by the vivacity and artlessness of his replies. His answers were given with a similar protestation to that of Ridley, and they were given promptly and distinctly. In vain he supplicated that he might not be summoned again; he certainly should retain the same opinion on the next day, as he had now expressed; and they might now dispose of him as they thought it fit.

October 1.

On the following morning the commissioners, being about to pronounce sentence, held their session in Saint Mary's church; and Ridley was, as before, first introduced. Having again refused to take off his cap, as a mark of respect for the legate of the pope, it was rudely snatched from his head by one of the beadles.

The business of the day was opened by a speech from the bishop of Lincoln, and it was employed in a vindication of his own interpretation of a passage in Saint Augustine, against the exceptions of Ridley, offered on the preceding day. He also referred to a passage of Cyril, quoted by Melancthon; but on inquiring for the works of Melancthon, to show the accuracy of his quotation, it was found that they had been lately burnt.

After a long and unprofitable discussion, the

bishop of Lincoln observed, that the commissioners had already exceeded their instructions, and that they must now require categorical answers to the articles. The written answer of Ridley to the first article being required, the prisoner began to read it; but the bishop commanded it to be taken away. Ridley having remonstrated against this unfair treatment, the bishop said that, on looking at the paper, he found it to contain words of blasphemy, and therefore it was unfit to be read to the audience. Some garbled extracts were read, notwithstanding the indignant expostulations of Ridley, and then the answers to the articles were recorded by the notaries, as being the same which he had maintained in the disputation of the preceding year.

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The answers having been recorded, Brookes, whose learning and eloquence were acknowledged even by those who differed from him, and by none more warmly than Ridley himself, endeavoured to bring this invincible champion of the protestant faith to a recantation. The following passage in his address is a proof of the high estimation of Ridley, even among the Romanists: “ Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit; so that, if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley’s wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Ridley fall also.” To this eulogy Ridley modestly replied, that he was but a young scholar in comparison of the archbishop, who, in learning, and in every other respect, was qualified to be his instructor.

The bishop of Lincoln seconded the persuasions of the bishop of Gloucester; but finding that

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persuasions were unavailing, the sentence of the greater excommunication was read. Ridley was condemned as an obstinate heretic, adjudged to be degraded from all ecclesiastical orders, and then to be delivered over for extreme punishment to the secular power.

Immediately after Ridley was dismissed, Latimer appeared before the court for the last time. He repeated his protestation that, by giving his answers, he intended no acknowledgment of the pope's authority. After his sentence of excommunication had been read, he earnestly desired that his reasons might be heard why he refused to submit to the pope's authority; but this liberty was denied. He then appealed to the next general council which should be called in God's name; but the bishop of Lincoln told him, that a long time would elapse before such a council would be called.

October 15. Previously to the execution of the sentence, the ceremony of degradation was performed. The offer of mercy was again tendered to both, and there is no doubt that it was made in sincerity. The learning of Ridley and the popularity of Latimer would have rendered their conversion a cause of triumph.

Nothing now remained but the last trying scene; and each of the martyrs prepared himself with a composure which "a sound judgment, aided by a good conscience, could alone inspire*." The place appointed for the horrid spectacle was a ditch, without the wall of Baliol college; and it is said

* Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, p. 662.

that the spot was chosen by the bishop of Gloucester, who had been formerly its master. The two sufferers exhibited a striking contrast in their appearance, Ridley being attired in his episcopal robe, and Latimer in his prison cloak; the one showing what they had once been, the other, to what they were now reduced*.

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As Ridley passed the prison where Cranmer was confined, he looked up, hoping to see him at the window, and to receive the last farewell of his patron and friend; but the archbishop was engaged in a disputation with a Spanish friar. Yet the two martyrs had the benefit of his prayers, though not the consolation of his valediction: he saw the appalling sight from the tower of his prison, and on his knees prayed that the divine strength might not fail them in their last agonies.

October 16.

Next to the prospect of the glorious reward which awaited them hereafter, their greatest consolation was, that they should not die in vain; that they should light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as should never be put out. Their consolation was not groundless, their prediction has been amply verified; posterity has derived from their example those pure and charitable feelings which they so conspicuously displayed; and it is only just to add, that their devotion to the cause of God, and their contempt of all sublunary considerations, effected even in some of the spectators an entire change of opinion.

A memorable instance of this conversion occurs in the case of Julius Palmer, a fellow of Magdalen

* Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

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college, who had been a warm and zealous papist throughout the reign of Edward, had been deprived of his fellowship, and had been expelled his college for non-conformity. In the reign of Mary, he had been restored, and had shown increased bitterness towards the reformers. Although he was surprised that they had so patiently submitted to the loss of their preferments, yet he doubted not what Gardiner had declared, that severity would reclaim them. He therefore voluntarily proposed their constancy in suffering death as the test both of the sincerity and the soundness of their faith. For this purpose he sent some of his pupils to Gloucester, that they might observe and report to him the manner in which Hooper met death; yet still he persuaded himself that the fortitude of Hooper was exaggerated, or that it originated in fanaticism. At Oxford, however, he was an anxious spectator, and a vigilant observer: he had witnessed the examination of the protestant prelates; he had heard their answers, and seen the magnanimity with which they disdained the offers of life, rather than deny their faith; and he finally saw how cheerfully they yielded up their lives in testimony of the truths which they believed. Palmer retired from the awful scene a convert, and departed, exclaiming publicly against the tyranny and cruelty of the papists; and, having suffered loss of fortune for his adherence to popery under king Edward, he suffered loss of life for protestantism under queen Mary*.

* Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*.

Yet there was an instance of a contrary kind, in which the intense and protracted torments of Ridley gave occasion to the bitter and malicious insinuation that he wanted the spirit of a martyr. A bigoted papist, of some subsequent notoriety*, who, like Palmer, was a spectator of the transaction, spoke in disparagement of Ridley's courage, because he accepted some gunpowder to shorten the duration of his pains. But he was properly reminded†, that Ignatius provoked the fury of the wild beasts, in order that they might more speedily tear him in pieces; and when Polycarp was committed to the flames, his persecutors ended his torments by piercing him with a sword‡.

The death of Ridley and Latimer was quickly followed by that of Gardiner; so quickly followed, that the two events have been thought to be connected by a special interposition of Providence§.

* Dorman.

† By Nowell, in his answer.

‡ Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

§ "Fox," says Collier, "tells a story which he pretends to have from credible intelligence, that, on the day when Ridley and Latimer were burnt, Gardiner invited the old duke of Norfolk to dine with him, and that he deferred the dinner till he received intelligence that the fire was kindled. On hearing the news, he went to dinner, but was seized with a sudden illness, from which he never recovered." Collier observes truly, that the old duke of Norfolk died in September, 1554, almost a year before this event. However Fox might give credit to the story, yet no reader of Fox, even from his own relation, can think it credible. He tells it thus: "Notwithstanding here by the way, touching the death of this foresaid bishop, I thought not to overpass a *certain hearsay*, which not long since came to me by information of a *certain worthy and credible gentlewoman*, and another gentleman of the same name and kindred; which *mistress Munday, being the wife of one M.*

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He opened the session of parliament, which met within a few days after the death of the protestant prelates; and he appeared a second time in that assembly; but, with these two exceptions, he never appeared again in public. The witnesses of his death-bed have described it as disturbed by the remembrance of his past life. Frequently was he heard to exclaim, "I have erred with Peter, but have not wept with Peter." When Day, the bishop of Chichester, endeavoured to comfort him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ, he replied, that such a doctrine might be useful to him, and to others in his condition, but if it were preached to the people, then "farewell altogether!"

Nov. 12.

While Gardiner lived, he was at the head of a party both in the church and in the state. As a statesman, he was able in forming his plans, and dexterous in their execution. As a churchman, his theological learning was moderate; but his skill in the canon law exceeded that of most divines. While he assented to the doctrines of the Romish church, he was not the slave of papal supremacy; and, even after the jurisdiction of the pope was recognised, he insisted that the papal legate should not put in use any bull from Rome without a licence under the great seal. He also contended that, although the statutes of Edward the Third and Henry the Eighth were repealed,

Munday, secretary sometime to the old Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the mouth of a certain citizen, bearing yet office in this city." This is the authority on which Fox relied. *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 1787. fol ed. Lond. 1583.

the more ancient laws against provisors were still in force.

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On the death of Gardiner, the chancellorship was conferred on Heath, archbishop of York, and the administration of the church was resigned entirely to cardinal Pole. Before the death of Gardiner, Pole had obtained licence to hold a synod, and to make canons; and to this synod he submitted a book well known by the title of "The Reformation of England." This book is an imperishable monument of his honest intentions, as well as of his practical wisdom, and it bears evidence of his further designs for the promotion of piety. In consequence of the dearth of preachers, he intended to publish a collection of homilies, divided into four books: the first, on the controverted points, for preserving the people from error; the second, containing an exposition of the creed, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the salutation of the Virgin, and the sacraments; the third, an explanation of the epistles and gospels; and the fourth, concerning virtues and vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the church.

From the moderation of Heath, and the liberality of Pole, it was inferred, not unreasonably, that the persecution of the reformers would be remitted; but the inference was proved to be erroneous. Philpot was the next sufferer of celebrity: he pleaded that he had neither spoken nor written against the new laws; for since their enactment, he had suffered a close imprisonment. But in one of the conferences with Boner, that prelate informed him, that the death of Gardiner would

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 XIII. and that recantation or death was still the alternative.

The time now approached, when Pole was to possess that station for which his sovereign had long since designed him. It has been said, that Gardiner never relinquished his hopes of obtaining the primacy; and that he had endeavoured to preserve Cranmer until some crisis might arrive when Pole would be no longer an impediment to his aspiring views. Whatever might have been the secret wishes of Gardiner, it is certain that Cranmer was not spared on this account. Before the death of Gardiner, the process against Cranmer was begun, of which the proceedings in Oxford were a part; and if Gardiner had survived its completion, it would have terminated in the same manner. There is still less truth in the insinuation, that the death of Cranmer was instigated or hastened by Pole, from a desire of being placed in the see of Canterbury; for the see was actually void by the attainder of Cranmer two years before. The death of Cranmer was an act of gratuitous cruelty, meditated and executed by the queen, and her guilt will not be lessened because she had accomplices. She pardoned his treason, that she might punish his heresy.

Nov. 29. When the eighty days were expired which the citation had allowed for the appearance of Cranmer at Rome, cardinal Puteo moved in consistory his accusations against the archbishop of Canterbury; in consequence of which, in a subsequent session of the court, he was sentenced to be excom-

Dec. 4.

municated and deprived; and at a third session, the administration of the see thus vacated was conferred on cardinal Pole.

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Dec. 11.

As soon as the definitive sentence was received in England, Cranmer was cited before certain commissioners, of whom the chief were Boner, bishop of London, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who were invested with full powers to degrade him, and then to deliver him to the secular power. The place chosen for the execution of the definitive sentence was the choir of the cathedral of Christ-church in Oxford. When Cranmer was brought before the court, the commission was read, stating that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, had been cited to appear at Rome; that he had wilfully disobeyed the citation; that articles had been exhibited; that evidence had been heard and examined; that he had wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence; and that, in consequence of his refusal to appear, he had been pronounced contumacious*. On hearing this statement read, Cranmer could not forbear to exclaim, "God must needs punish such open and shameless lying, that I, being in prison, and not suffered even at home to have counsel or advocate, should produce witnesses and appoint my counsel at Rome!"

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Feb. 14.

When the commission had been read, the court proceeded to his degradation. He was clothed in the robes of an archbishop, with the distinguishing appendage of the pall, but the robes were of canvas: a mitre was placed on his head, and a crosier in his hand. Boner and Thirlby then performed

* Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 55.

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the ceremony of degradation; the one with the most bitter invectives and savage exultation, the other with expressions of heartfelt sorrow. When they attempted to take the crosier from his hand, he held it fast, and refused to deliver it; and, imitating the example of Martin Luther*, he pulled from under his sleeve a paper, which he presented to the commissioners, saying at the same time, "I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it; which appeal I desire may be admitted." The appeal being handed to the commissioners, the bishop of Ely said, that their commission precluded all appeal, and therefore none could be admitted. "Then," replied Cranmer, "you do me the more wrong; for my case is not a common case: the matter is between the pope and me immediately, and none other, and no man ought to be a judge in his own cause." The bishop of Ely then received the appeal, and promised that it should be admitted if possible. When they came to take off his pall, he said, "Which of you hath a pall, to take off mine?" One of them answered that, in respect of their being only bishops, they were his inferiors, and therefore not competent to degrade him; but as they were the delegates of the pope, they had an authority above that of a metropolitan.

After this pageant of degradation, Cranmer was clothed in a squalid garb, and consigned to the common prison, there to remain till the secular power executed the sentence of the ecclesiastical

* Fox, Acts and Monuments. Luther first appealed from cardinal Cajetan, the pope's delegate, to the pope himself, and afterwards from the pope to a general council.

court. Yet, before the tragical catastrophe, he was appointed to sustain a trial more severe than any which he had yet encountered; for it was a trial under which he fell.

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This portion of Cranmer's life is involved in obscurity, the elucidation of which is impossible; an obscurity, the cause of which must be attributed to the wilful misrepresentation, or the credulous statement, of prejudiced historians. The common account, though not without its difficulties, is, after all, the most probable, that immediately after the degradation of Cranmer, the popish priesthood was busily employed in persuading him to a recantation, and that he was removed from his prison to the deanery of Christ-church, where he experienced the most humane and tender treatment. Henry Sydal, and John de Garcina, a Spanish friar, were employed, first to argue with him, and, if arguments were unsuccessful, to try his constancy with offers of mercy and favour. He was flattered with the representation that his conversion would be peculiarly acceptable to the king, the queen, and the whole nation; that he might, if he pleased, be restored to his former dignity, or might pass the remainder of his life in a private station. He was terrified by the certain prospect of an excruciating death, which it was impossible to avert, unless by renouncing his heresies, and returning to the unity of the church. How long Cranmer resisted their solicitations is unknown, but it is certain that he finally yielded.

Cranmer was prevailed on to sign more than a single recantation; for after he had himself written one paper, so dexterously worded as to be capable

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of an ambiguous interpretation, a second was required in explanation of the first. He was at last brought to sign six different recantations, the last of which was very prolix, and contained not only an acknowledgment of the doctrines of the church of Rome, which he had opposed throughout his life, but a confession of his own blasphemous and profane conduct.

No sooner were these recantations signed, than they were published by Boner with malicious eagerness and joy. Whether the popish priests were authorized by the queen to procure a recantation from Cranmer; and still more, whether they were authorized to flatter him with false hopes of mercy, are questions which have been debated, but to the determination of which no one can come without a bias. Leaving them undecided, it is sufficient to state, that whatever gratification the queen might have derived from his compliance, she was not moved from her purpose of sacrificing him to her resentment. As he had been the great promoter of heresy, and had corrupted the whole nation, she thought it right that he should suffer. His conversion from his heresies might be good for his own soul, and might be of service to others, but it ought not to save him from his merited punishment. After having fixed the day for his execution, she herself directed Cole, the provost of Eton, to preach a sermon on the occasion.

Cole, having received his instructions, repaired to Oxford, and the day before the execution visited Cranmer in his prison, to interrogate him whether he still continued steadfast in the catholic faith? Cranmer replied, that he trusted by God's grace

to be daily more and more confirmed in that faith. On the morning of the execution, Cole again visited him, to inquire whether he had any money? finding that he had none, Cole gave him fifteen crowns to distribute to the poor.

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No direct intimation was given to Cranmer that he was about to suffer; but these circumstances excited his suspicions, and they were confirmed by the visit of John de Garcina. The Spanish friar brought some written articles, which he desired Cranmer to sign, and to repeat before the people. To this request Cranmer acceded, but secretly deposited in his bosom another paper, containing a prayer, an exhortation, and a confession of faith, “such as flowed from his conscience, and not from his fears*.”

He was conducted with great ceremony to Saint Mary’s church, and placed on a stage opposite the pulpit, that he might be seen by the whole audience. Cole ascended the pulpit, and began his sermon, which he divided into three parts; intending to speak of the mercy of God; secondly, of the justice of God; and, thirdly, of the counsels of princes, which are not to be revealed. Having descanted on the divine justice, and the divine mercy, attributes which are not contradictory, but which are frequently displayed at the same time; the preacher, under the third head of his discourse, applied himself to Cranmer. The union of mercy and justice was visible in the punishment about to be inflicted: there were many obvious reasons for this appointment, and there were some just and weighty

* Burnet’s History of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 2.

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causes which weighed with the queen and council, but which it was not fit to reveal. He therefore exhorted Cranmer to constancy under his sufferings; arming him against the terror of death by the assurance, that God would either abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. Cranmer's conversion had been the immediate work of God, and to God alone ought glory to be given: in it were exhibited striking marks of justice and mercy: while he abounded in riches and honours he was unworthy to live, and now that he was no longer permitted to live, he was unworthy to die. But a strong hope was given to him of obtaining eternal life, and he might be assured that masses for the repose of his soul should be said in all the churches of Oxford.

During the delivery of this sermon, Cranmer expressed the greatest emotion, sometimes lifting his eyes to heaven, and sometimes fixing them on the ground. When the sermon was ended, and the people were about to depart, Cole called them back, first to prayer, and then to hear a confession from the lips of the dying penitent.

Cranmer rising and taking off his cap, began his address to the people. He first read his prayer, being a supplication for mercy, and support in his approaching trial. He then admonished the hearers not to set their affections on the things of this world; to obey the king and queen from conscience towards God; to live in mutual love and charity. He then came, as he said, to the conclusion of his life, on which depended all his past life, as well as that which was to come, being now either to enter into the joys of heaven or to suffer the pains of

hell. The present was no time for dissimulation, and he was therefore now about to make a true declaration of his faith. Having repeated the apostles' creed, and professed his belief in the holy Scriptures, he came to a point which, he said, pressed on his conscience more than any other action of his whole life, and this was his subscription to a declaration contrary to truth. It was made through fear of death, and with the hope of saving his life; but it was contrary to the thought of his heart. Now, therefore, when he was about to die, he utterly renounced "all such bills and papers" as he had written or signed since his degradation, and because his hand had offended by writing contrary to his heart, that hand should be signally punished, for when he came to the fire it should be first burned. The pope he rejected as antichrist, with all the false doctrines of popery; and as to the sacrament, he retained the same belief as he had when he wrote his book against the bishop of Winchester. The true doctrine would stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary to it would be ashamed to show its face.

When the audience heard this unexpected declaration, a general confusion took place: some began to charge him with his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood, and admonished him to dissemble no longer. He replied, that he had ever loved simplicity, and throughout his life had hated dissimulation. He would have gone on in his discourse, but was prevented by an universal clamour, and Cole exclaimed, "Stop the mouth of the heretic, and take him away!" He was then dragged

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from the stage on which he was elevated, and was led to the same spot where Ridley and Latimer had not long before resigned their lives. All the way from the church to the place of execution, the friars continued to utter the severest reproaches, and the most dreadful threats of eternal vengeance*.

The venerable primate, serene and inflexible, maintained that fortitude at the stake which he had resumed in the church, and closed his life with an action which has no parallel in Christian martyrology, and which Voltaire has panegyricized as being more intrepid and magnanimous than a similar action of Mutius Scævola. Stretching forth his right hand into the fire, he never moved it, save once that he passed it across his face, till it was entirely consumed, and before the fire had reached his body, it was reduced to ashes. “That unworthy hand!” was his frequent ejaculation during his agony. This act of heroism is so strongly attested, that it has never been controverted by the most virulent enemies of the reformation. That Cranmer voluntarily and with calm deliberation burnt his hand, is a fact which every member of the church of England rejoices to find so incontestably established; whether his heart was found unconsumed among the ashes is a question which he contentedly leaves in doubt, as being more congenial to the legends of the church of Rome.

If Cranmer, after his recantation, had been consigned to perpetual imprisonment, or irrevocable exile; or, to carry the supposition farther, if he had been reinstated in his high dignity, the crea-

* Acts and Monuments.

ture and slave of the pope; the enemies of the reformation might have loaded it with fresh calumny. His constitutional timidity, increased by affliction and age, might have prevailed over the candour and sincerity of his temper, and to the end of his life he might have continued in outward communion with the Romish church. But malice and cruelty defeated their own purposes, and though his enemies meant it not, “neither did their heart think so,” he rendered, by the manner of his death, a substantial and lasting benefit to the protestant faith, and effectually vindicated his personal integrity.

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The church of England must now be considered as no longer independent, but as a branch of the church of Rome, and therefore its history during the remainder of Mary's reign may be soon told. On the day after the execution of Cranmer, Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and two days after was invested with the pall by the bishops of Ely and Worcester. His ecclesiastical administration will most conveniently include all the events deserving of notice by the historian.

Various have been the representations of his conduct; but it is not candid or just to confound errors in government with vices of personal character. The memory of Pole is to be jealously guarded from any prejudiced insinuation; it is deservedly dear to every Englishman, and far be it from any protestant to detract from the merit of one, whom his own church has almost repudiated, on account of his catholic charity.

The persecution of the protestants after the death of Gardiner has been unjustly imputed to Pole,

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and with less colour of probability than, during his life, to Gardiner himself. Both these prelates were instruments under the direction of the queen; Gardiner a willing, and Pole not a passive, but a reluctant instrument. However he might lament, yet he could not alter, the severity of her temper; and, looking at his situation, it will be seen that, instead of possessing any control over the court of England, he depended solely on the countenance and protection of his sovereign for security against the court of Rome.

When Pole accepted the English legation, he enjoyed the friendship of the reigning pontiff, and great influence in the sacred college; but on the accession of Paul the Fourth his situation was changed. The cardinal having interfered in the adjustment of the differences between France and Spain, and having ventured to suggest the propriety of the pope's mediation, his legatine commission was revoked, and William Peyto, an English Franciscan, was substituted in his place. Nothing but the partiality of the queen could have prevented him from being cited before the inquisition at Rome; but Mary commanded the ports to be guarded, and prohibited the papal messenger from landing on the English shore. In a letter of remonstrance she boldly informed the pontiff, that if Pole were deprived of his legation, no other should enjoy that distinction, and that the legatine powers vested in the see of Canterbury were confirmed by the English laws, and fortified by the English constitution*.

* Beccatell. Vit. Reg. Poli.

Justice, therefore, demands that the spontaneous and unbiassed actions of Pole should be separated from those in which he unwillingly concurred; and the encomium of an historian, penurious of praise to any member of the church of Rome, ought not to be suppressed: "He had such qualities and such a temper, that if he could have brought the other bishops to follow his measures, he might have probably done much towards reducing the nation to popery *."

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The queen showed her devotion to the church of Rome in the creation of religious houses, and the re-establishment of the monastic orders. For the Franciscans of the observance she had an hereditary affection, and she rebuilt the monastery at Greenwich, and restored as many of the old fraternity as could be found. Their rivals, the Dominicans, were stationed at Smithfield; the military order of the Hospitallers was revived, and Sir Thomas Gresham, as grand prior, resumed his place in the upper house of parliament.

Another religious order, which had its institution after the Reformation, which was long the support of the declining papacy, and which gained a dictatorial power in the monastic republic, was prevented from gaining a settlement in England by the firm resistance of Pole. The order of Jesuits had been founded in the latter part of Henry's reign, but from a monarch who had dissolved all the religious orders within his dominions, these papal janissaries could expect no favour. It was suggested to Pole that the restoration of the old orders

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* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 2.

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would be of little use, in comparison of establishing the Jesuits, who, in activity, exceeded the Dominicans; who, in their notions of free will, agreed with the Franciscans; and who, so far from professing mendicity, were ready to take possession of the property of the Benedictines. Pole refused to listen to the specious proposition, and his memory has, on that account, been loaded with jesuitical obloquy.

With the power of gratifying her religious prejudices, and with the restoration of the Romish religion, Mary was still a stranger to tranquillity. Her disappointment in the hope of issue, and the consequent coldness and final desertion of Philip, exasperated a temper naturally gloomy. The loss of Calais, and other national reverses, brought on an early dissolution; and her death conferred on Elizabeth the power and the honour of reversing her religious policy.

Nov. 17.

The health of Pole had long been feeble, but his end was probably hastened by the death of Mary; for he survived it only sixteen hours. When he despaired of her recovery, and had little prospect of his own, he sent a letter to the princess Elizabeth, by Holland, dean of Worcester, his chaplain. Its object was to satisfy the princess that he had not participated in the ungenerous treatment which she had experienced, and perhaps to recommend her continuance in the unity of the catholic church*.

Nov. 14.

At the conclusion of his life, his love of retirement, if possible, was increased, and he was completely alienated from his family and English con-

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. Appendix. No. 73.

nexions. The munificence of his temper prevented him from amassing wealth, and the small portion which he possessed was bequeathed to Priuli, a noble Venetian, who lived under his roof, and who had for many years shared his fortunes. The legatee was worthy of the testator: Priuli, having paid the debts of his departed friend, distributed the residue in charity, reserving to himself nothing of the property of Pole but the breviary and the diary*.

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* Ex quibus Polus Deum precari solitus erat, Breviarium vocamus et Diurnale. Beccatell. Vit. Reg. Poli.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the exiled Church of England.—Number of the Exiles.—Characters of the principal Divines.—Poinet.—Coverdale.—Cox.—Jewel.—Troubles at Frankfort.—Knoxians and Coxians.—Intelligence of the Death of Mary.—Return of the Exiles at the Accession of Elizabeth.

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A CHURCH, like a “nation, is a moral essence, not a geographical arrangement, or a denomination of the nomenclator* :” its locality, therefore, will be changed with that of the individuals who compose it. In the reign of Mary, the protestant English church was not to be found in England; it was to be found, where the historian must now seek it, among its dispersed members, whom the bigotry of the Romish church forced into exile. Under any circumstances these persecuted men would deserve a grateful remembrance: had they all died in a foreign land, patriotism and piety alike forbid that their memory should perish. But these exiles were appointed to a higher destination: they returned, to modify, though not to determine, the future state of the English church. Unhappily, also, the first schism in that church began in its exiled and persecuted condition, and, still more unhappily, the schism was widened when persecution ceased. Those who had fomented religious division in banishment brought back to

* Burke’s First Letter on a Regicide Peace.

their own country the jealousies which they should have left behind them; and, the seeds of discord being sown in an English soil, acquired strength and luxuriance.

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The character of a religious exile is peculiarly open to temptation; for the qualities of which it is composed are doubtful and heterogeneous: it possesses not enough of firmness to await the shock of persecution, and too much of integrity to submit to a compromise or concealment of opinion. The martyr's crown, though it be a crown of thorns, is an irradiated crown; he expires in the midst of "a cloud of witnesses," whose sympathy animates his resolution, and whose bitterness only excites his charity. The sufferings of the exile are, for the most part, unseen; and, instead of exciting pious resignation in himself, and brotherly kindness towards others, too frequently engender overweening pride and confirmed misanthropy.

With these preliminary observations, the reader is prepared to peruse a chequered narrative, in which he will find many events which inculcate humility, and many which inspire caution.

At the commencement of Mary's reign, a proclamation from the queen announced to all her subjects liberty of conscience; but there was no literal infringement of the promise, nor any violation of candour in not extending this liberty to foreigners. The refugees who had settled in England, in reliance on the national faith, and under an express promise of protection, were commanded to depart. Peter Martyr was a functionary in an English university; and therefore a debate arose, whether, since he enjoyed the privileges of an

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English subject, he was not liable to the same restraints; and a consultation took place, whether, instead of being allowed to depart, he should not be committed to prison. But Gardiner interposed to save the national honour, and it was at length resolved that Martyr should have a licence to quit the kingdom. The foreign divine maintained the same independence of spirit in adverse circumstances as when in the possession of an honourable competence, accompanied with academical authority. He said that he had come into England on an invitation from the government, and for the purpose of filling an accredited station, and therefore he refused to leave the country without a public passport. Having obtained it, he took his passage to Antwerp, whence he immediately proceeded to Strasburg.

Oct. 30.

Sept. 17.

An order was sent to John Alasco and his congregation to leave the kingdom; their church of the Gray Friars was taken from them, and the corporation dissolved. They all obeyed the order, except a few merchants and two of their preachers, and the remainder attempted to settle in Denmark; but, on account of their adherence to the Helvetian confession, were refused protection. After enduring many hardships, they were at last suffered to gain a settlement in Friesland. The church at Glastonbury was also broken up, and most of its members removed to Frankfort, where they were enabled to repay to the English exiles that kindness which they had experienced.

The measure of dissolving the foreign churches, and of commanding their congregations to leave the country, was thought by the English pro-

testants to be a harbinger of their own approaching persecution, and was regarded as a signal, warning them to fly. At first they were enabled to escape in the company, or as the domestics, of foreigners, and particularly of the French protestants; but the council, understanding the prevalence of such an unjustifiable evasion, issued an order, that no Frenchman should be suffered to embark, without a certificate from the French ambassador.

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Escape was now rendered difficult, and was frequently effected with extreme danger, though in a few instances an express permission was given to earnest solicitation, when seconded by the recommendation of persons in power. By these different expedients, a large body of protestants was enabled to exchange the imminent terrors of imprisonment and death for the contingent and unknown evils of banishment.

The number of English exiles has been still more variously stated than the number of those who suffered death at home. While some accounts have reduced it to three hundred, others have raised it to more than a thousand. The last computation approaches nearest the truth; for, according to authentic documents, three hundred English exiles were settled at Frankfort.

In order that the transactions of the exiled church may be comprehended more distinctly, it will be necessary to give a previous description of its most prominent characters, some of whom had already gained celebrity in promoting the reformation at home, while others acquired their early

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reputation in the English congregations at Frankfurt, Strasburg, and Zurich.

Not only because he possessed the highest station, but because an active and ardent mind incited him to render the influence of high station instrumental in the promotion of the protestant faith, is the precedence due to Poinet, the late bishop of Winchester. If he had resolved to remain, he must have resolved to suffer with his episcopal brethren; but as soon as he saw the approaching storm, he went into concealment, and then into exile. The time of his leaving England is not a matter which may be contentedly left in vague uncertainty, for it is connected with an interesting circumstance of his life. An historian who lived near the time*, and who cannot be accused of credulity or prejudice, has stated that Poinet was deeply involved in Wyat's rebellion. He not only encouraged the rebellion, but joined the army, until he perceived the incapacity of its leader, when he advised some of the subordinate agents to consult their own safety, and taking leave of his friends, with a promise to pray for their success, embarked for Germany.

To combat so positive a statement by any contrary evidence is impossible; but by an historian who has justly considered it as injurious to the memory of Poinet, a presumption has been offered, which invalidates its probability. If the accusation had any colour, still more, if it were undeniable, Gardiner, who seized every occasion to calumniate

* Stowe's Annals, p. 620.

as well as to injure Poinet, would not have failed to attain him of high treason in the succeeding session of parliament*. A. D.

Mary.

Whether Poinet were an actor in Wyat's rebellion is uncertain, but it is beyond doubt that he justified the principle of the lawfulness of resistance to unlawful commands, and applied the principle to justify resistance against the government of Mary. In a treatise†, which was industriously circulated and eagerly read, he makes civil government to depend on the will of the people, and cites the Spartan Ephori and the Roman tribunes as a precedent for calling princes to account for their mal-administration. He presses the expedient of deposing princes, and appeals to Scripture in vindication of his doctrine. Hence it may be seen that the doctrine of resistance as well as the doctrine of non-resistance was inculcated by protestant divines, and both were taught in opposition to the papists. Cranmer and Latimer held the former, Poinet strenuously maintained the latter, but all with a view of counteracting the progress of papal dominion. Thus it is that men adopt speculative principles on civil government, apparently incompatible with their religious tenets, and change both with equal inconsistency. The protestants inculcated resistance in the reign of Mary, and the papists in the reign of Elizabeth.

Of Poinet little more is recorded, for death soon terminated his labours and his misfortunes.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. b. 2.

† Entitled "A Short Treatise on the Politic Power, with an Exhortation to all True Natural Englishmen."

CHAP.
XVI.

He died at Strasburg before he had attained the age of forty, and was buried there with the general lamentation of his countrymen*.

1556.
April.

Three other English prelates, Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells; Scory, bishop of Chichester; and Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, complete the catalogue of the exiled episcopacy†. Of the two former prelates much cannot be said in commendation; Scory was deprived for being married, but he appeared before Boner, renounced his marriage, submitted to penance, and received a formal absolution; and on giving this full satisfaction was restored to the limited exercise of his function. But it soon appeared that his submission was dictated by his fears, for he would not avail himself of the favour which his pusillanimous compliance had purchased, and he retired into exile. Coverdale, though a native of England, and educated at Cambridge, had resided abroad the greater part of his life, and in conjunction with Tindal and Rogers had translated the Bible. Returning to England under Edward, he was made bishop of Exeter, and in this station was a model of primitive episcopacy. His house was a little church, in which was exercised all virtue and godliness‡. His avowed enmity to “all superstition and popery” had rendered him a conspicuous object of persecution: he was deprived of liberty, and his life was in danger; but he was rescued by the mediation of the king of Denmark. There he had resided in the reign of Henry the Eighth, in the highest estimation with

1551.

* Godwin de Præsulibus.

† There was one Irish bishop, Bale of Ossory.

‡ Brook's Lives of the Puritans.

the Danish court, and there he again found an honourable asylum throughout the reign of Mary. A. D.

Next to the exiled prelacy must be noticed the inferior dignitaries and divines, of whom there was a large body. Cox, the dean of Christchurch, in Oxford, because he had superintended the education of Edward, was among the first sufferers, and without any assignable reason was dispossessed of his preferments and committed to prison. His imprisonment, however, was not of long continuance, and on his release he obtained a licence to leave the country. His reputation in the university, during the reign of Edward, was equalled by his influence at court; but academical friendship survived the loss of political connexion. Peter Martyr had lived in Christchurch under his government, and the exiled dean fixed his residence at Strasburg, where he once more associated with his ancient friend. Mary.

Sandys, when vice chancellor of Cambridge, had been compelled by Northumberland to preach a sermon in defence of the title of lady Jane Grey; and though he executed the ungrateful task with great caution and address, yet a fine and imprisonment were imposed on him before he was permitted to leave the country. Horn, the dean of Durham, soon after his escape, thought it fit to publish an apology for quitting the kingdom. He had been advertised that offences against the state were charged against him, and he was on his journey to London to clear himself of the imputation; but seeing that he should not be allowed to make a fair defence, he purposely withdrew himself.

If the names of Grindal, Alexander Nowell,

CHAP.
XIV.

1535.

John Knox, Whittingham, Reynolds, Haddon, and Aylmer, among the exiled divines, be recited without comment, it is only because their characters will be developed in the future narrative. Yet there is one divine who must be introduced in this place, because neither age nor station, but transcendent abilities, gained him the influence which he possessed in the exiled church. The talents and acquirements of Jewel were of such excellence that they could not be controlled by the adventitious circumstances of fortune; but they could be only valued in an age of intellectual ardour. Dedicated to learning from his childhood, he had scarcely passed its limits*, when he was sent to the university of Oxford, at a period when new studies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were desirous of truth or ambitious of fame†. Under the tuition of Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, he prosecuted his studies with an eagerness and perseverance which are scarcely credible; and the severe mental application which animated him as a student was not remitted when he became an instructor of youth.

Having been removed from Merton into Corpus Christi college, he was chosen reader of rhetoric and humanity, and he filled the place seven years with the highest reputation. His example taught more than his lectures; he was not only an admirer but an imitator of Horace and Tully among the writers of the Augustan age, and of Erasmus among the moderns. Latin or English composition was

* At the age of thirteen.

† Johnson's Life of Ascham.

his daily exercise, for it was with him a favourite maxim, that learning is more easily acquired by a frequent employment of the pen than by reading many books. To the study of oratory he added its practice, accustoming himself to declaim in the neighbouring woods and groves of Oxford*.

A. D.

Mary.

Polite literature, though cultivated by Jewel with fondness, was far from absorbing his attention; he was soon initiated into the controversies between the Romanists and the reformers, and there is no derogation from the truth of the reformed doctrines in saying that he adopted them from early prepossession rather than from mature judgment†. But as his years advanced, his prejudices were strengthened into rational conviction. When Peter Martyr was appointed to fill the theological chair at Oxford, Jewel became one of the most constant attendants on the lectures of that professor. His skill in stenography, which at that time was not a mechanical art, but an accomplish-

1548.

* *Fertur æstate in sylvam Shotoverianam Oxoniæ proximam, aut in aliquem secessum proficisci consuevisse, ibique in solitudine quasi in theatro declamitasse, auditores candidissimos oratione Græca, Latina, sua, aliena, Ciceroniana, Demosthenica compellasse; gestum, pronuntiationem, vocem, vultum, omnia ad gravitatem et decus attemperasse, ut non Juellum sed alterum Demosthenem in antro rhetoricantem, et literam caninam sonare conantem fuisse affirmares.* Humphrey's *Life of Jewel*.

† Parkhurst, his tutor, intending to compare the translations of Coverdale and Tindal, gave him Tindal's translation to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's. In which collation of translations Jewel often smiled at the barbarisms in these versions, and Parkhurst could not forbear to exclaim, "Surely Paul's cross will one day ring of this boy." Jewel's *Life*, prefixed to his works.

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XIV.

1549.

ment generally associated with high intellectual attainments, enabled him to appropriate the public lectures of Martyr, and at the famous disputation on the corporal presence, Jewel was selected by Martyr to take down in writing the arguments of the respective disputants.

In the placid enjoyment of literary competence, and in the cultivation of his favourite studies, Jewel had arrived at the vigour of early manhood, when the death of Edward portended a total extinction to the English reformation. Jewel was one of the first who felt the resentment of the triumphant papists. Before any law was enacted, or before any order was given by the queen for the re-establishment of the Romish religion, he was expelled his college by the private authority of the fellows. The crimes laid to his charge were, that he was a follower of Peter Martyr, that he preached doctrines contrary to the church of Rome, and that he had taken orders according to the laws then in force; but even those who condemned his heresy were constrained to acknowledge the sanctity and integrity of his life.

Thus suddenly reduced to poverty, he continued still at Oxford, and the university more than requited the unkindness of his college. He not only found a place of retreat in Broadgate hall, but was chosen public orator. In this capacity he penned a congratulatory address from the university on the accession of the queen, and executed the difficult task with such address as to satisfy Tresham, a zealous Romanist, then vice-chancellor, without compromising his own principles. He delicately reminded his sovereign of her public assurance,

that whatever might be her sentiments, she had no intention to change the established religion, and that this assurance had been repaid by the grateful loyalty of her subjects*.

A. D.

Mary.

When the disputation took place at Oxford between a committee of the convocation with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, Jewel was an anxious and attentive witness, and doubtless, from his known predilection for the reformed doctrines, was one of the notaries in behalf of the two former prelates. The disputation, while it convinced him that truth was on the protestant side, furnished him with additional proofs of the disingenuous arts and malignant spirit of the Romanists, and must have prepared him for a farther display of their rancour towards himself.

1554.

Religious hatred had already forced him from his college, but the malice of his enemies was not abated, and they resolved to compel the sacrifice of his conscience or his life. By the instigation of Marshal, the dean of Christchurch, a paper was brought for his subscription, affirming the chief articles of the Romish creed, to which in an hour of weakness he set his name. Having no time allowed for reflection, or perhaps not daring to reflect, he hastily seized the pen, saying, "Have you a desire to see how well I write?" and gave the subscription required†.

Yet this acquiescence in no degree mitigated the enmity excited against him; and now, forsaken by his friends for his sinful compliance, persecuted by

* There is no entire copy of the letter extant; but the heads of it are preserved in Humfrey's *Life of Jewel*.

† The place where he subscribed was Saint Mary's church.

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XIV.

his foes for his insincere submission, and above all wounded in his conscience, he resolved to fly. This resolution he accomplished at the hazard of his life; and, after surmounting many dangers, he reached Frankfort. There he was received with kindness, because he came unexpected and unhoped, and he made a spontaneous recantation of his subscription*. He made it in the pulpit, before the whole congregation, in these words: "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, which caused my hand to commit this wickedness." Then he applied himself to fervent prayer, first to God for his pardon, and afterwards to the church, the whole congregation accompanying him with sighs and tears, and esteeming him more for his ingenuous repentance than they would perhaps have done if he had never fallen†.

Jewel remained but a short time at Frankfort, when he accepted an invitation to Strasburg from Peter Martyr. There he lived with his former instructor, sharing his hospitality, and in return participating in his literary labours. When Martyr removed to Zurich, Jewel accompanied him, and, except during a short visit of Jewel to Padua, these two friends were never separated till the return of the exiles to England.

With this extended but not disproportionate biographical notice of Jewel, there will be no space for enlarging on the characters of the exiled laity. With a few exceptions their departure was voluntary; for by a prudent and inoffensive demeanour,

* I have confessed it openly, and unrequired." Jewel's Works, p. 30,

† Life of Jewel, prefixed to his Apology.

many laics were unmolested, even in the open profession of the reformed faith. Ascham, whose opinions were not disguised, enjoyed, by the favour of Gardiner, not only security, but an honourable station, because he was contented to remain in his own country without disturbing its government; while Cheke, who thought to preserve his conscience by flight, was seized in Flanders, compelled to a recantation, and died from the pangs of remorse.

A. D.

1554.

Mary.

The greatest alleviations which the English refugees could expect, under the hardships of exile, were from the charity of foreigners, or from mutual kindness and love among themselves. But they lamentably failed in both these respects. From many of the reformed churches these unhappy exiles experienced a persecution almost as severe as that from which they had escaped. The Lutherans hated them, because they were sacramentarians; and they were frequently expelled those cities in Germany where Lutheranism predominated. Their sufferings at home, in attestation of the protestant faith, called forth the most indecent reproaches from the Lutheran zealots*. Melancthon, with his wonted humanity, rendered the most important services to their persons and their cause; but his benevolent intentions were calumniated, and often defeated.

Such of the English as sought shelter in France, Geneva, and those parts of Germany and Switzer-

* *Vociferantur quidam martyres Anglicos esse martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afficere sanctum spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris quos novi. Melancthon, Ep. l. 2.*

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XIV.

land, where Lutheranism was not professed, were received with humanity, and were allowed places of worship. The more learned of the English clergy, and some younger divines, settled in Strasburg, Zurich, and Basil, for the benefit of the libraries in these cities, and with an expectation of gaining a subsistence for their literary labours. But the great body of the exiles was settled at Frankfort, and it was there that the inevitable calamities of exile were aggravated by discord; it was there that the division among the English reformers began, which ended in an entire separation, and gave rise to a sect which ultimately succeeded in subverting the church of England*.

1554.
June 27.

Of the exiled families which first settled at Frankfort*, the principal was that of Whittingham: he was a Zuinglian before he left England, and not well affected to the liturgy or discipline of the church†. On his application to the magistrates of Frankfort, the English families were admitted to the use of the French church, already occupied by a French congregation. The two congregations were to meet at different hours, and a provision was insisted on by the magistrates, that the English congregation should subscribe the French confession of faith, and that if there were

* History of the Troubles at Frankfort, first printed in 1575, and reprinted in 1708, in a collection of tracts, entitled "The Phoenix," vol. ii. This history is notoriously partial to the opposers of the English liturgy, and is thus described by Fuller: "When the writer is for the plaintiff, the discreet reader will not only be an impartial judge, but also somewhat of an advocate for the defendant."—Fuller's Church History, b. viii.

† Heylin's Eccles. Restaur. p. 228.

not an entire uniformity of ceremonies and worship, there should be no controversy about either. The English congregation, by the advice of Whittingham, adopted a form of worship widely differing from the English liturgy, as it had been established by Edward the Sixth. It was agreed that the responses should not be pronounced aloud after the minister; that the litany should be omitted; and that the surplice should be no longer worn. It was farther resolved, that the title of priest should be exchanged for that of minister. The liturgy, in addition to the omission of the litany, was materially altered. Divine service was to begin with a confession of sins, but different from that prescribed by the English service book, and, as it was supposed, more appropriate to the condition of an exiled church. When the confession was ended, a psalm, according to the metrical version of Sternhold, was to be sung by the people; after the psalm, the minister was directed to pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and then to proceed to the sermon. At the conclusion of the sermon, there was a general prayer for all estates and conditions, and particularly for England. Then the Lord's prayer was to be read, and the creed was to be recited; after which, the people, having sung another psalm, were to be dismissed by the minister with a blessing. In the administration of the holy communion, many things enjoined by the English ritual were to be left out, as either unnecessary or superstitious*. Having thus disguised and mutilated the English liturgy; having used the

A. D.

1554.

May.

July 29.

* History of the Troubles at Frankfort.

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caution of the magistrates not to dispute about forms of worship, as a pretext for an almost total conformity with those of the French congregation; they chose a minister and deacons for the present exigence, and opened their church.

If the English exiles at Frankfort had been contented to use this novel form of worship, without attempting to obtrude it on others, they might have continued in its unmolested enjoyment; but they attempted to introduce it among the other English congregations, and proposed it as a model for general imitation*. They sent a letter to their dispersed brethren, inviting them to Frankfort, where the word of God was duly preached, where the sacraments were rightly administered, and where a scriptural discipline was established—advantages which could not be enjoyed

August 2. elsewhere. These blessings the English had never possessed, even in their own country; but they might now possess them at Frankfort. But not satisfied with a description so attractive, they addressed letters to their countrymen at Strasburg, Zurich, and Basil, beseeching them to send some of their divines to Frankfort, to preside over a congregation formed after this primitive model. Such an address was not likely to be received with satisfaction, and still less likely to obtain compliance. The divines at Zurich returned a decided refusal, unless they had a previous assurance that the English service book should be used without any

* This is the communion of saints, who never count themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness until, if it be in their power, they have made their fellow-sufferers partakers thereof. —Fuller's Church History, b. viii.

alteration. The divines at Strasburg were not quite so rigid, and consented to abate something of the English liturgy, by way of accommodation to the solicitations of their weaker brethren*. At length three ministers, from different cities, were prevailed to undertake the superintendence of the congregation at Frankfort: Knox was selected from Geneva, Haddon from Strasburg, and Lever from Zurich.

A. D.

1554.

Mary.

Of the Scottish reformer, John Knox, it is impossible not to speak; but it is necessary to speak with caution. Let no Englishman or episcopalian undertake the perilous task of delineating his character; let it be left as it has been finished by an able and impartial hand. “Zeal, intrepidity, and disinterestedness, he possessed in an eminent degree. He possessed eloquence, but calculated to inflame rather than to persuade or convince. His maxims were impracticably severe, and the impetuosity of his temper was uncontrolled. Rigid and uncompromising himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others; regardless of the distinctions of society, whether of rank, age, or sex, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim†.”

In the reign of Edward the Sixth, Knox had been induced to come into England, and was appointed one of the king’s chaplains. His greatest delight was in itinerant preaching; he was unwilling to undertake any pastoral charge, and on that

* Strasburg was situated midway between Frankfort and Zurich, and so the congregation at that place embraced a middle and moderate course between the two contending parties.

—Fuller’s Church History, b. viii.

† Robertson’s History of Scotland, b. vi.

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XIV.

account refused to accept a parochial benefice in London. Immediately on the death of Edward he retired to Geneva, a city where Calvin enjoyed more than the authority of a sovereign.

The apparently liberal but really despotic form of ecclesiastical government, established by Calvin at Geneva, was congenial to the aspiring and ungovernable temper of Knox, and he therefore came to Frankfort with a determination to establish in all its vigour, and with all its intolerance, the Genevan worship and discipline. The congregation was suited to its pastor, and Knox soon ruled it with absolute sway.

Though the exiles at Zurich and Strasburg had no other power over the Frankfort congregation than that of refusing to send their divines to officiate in it, yet this incomppliance was resented as a positive injury. In a warm remonstrance addressed to the divines at Strasburg, the Knoxians excepted against the English liturgy, and reprobated some of its ceremonies as unprofitable, and others as not fit to be tolerated. They were willing to use it as far as it was agreeable to the word of God; but as to the ceremonies which it prescribed, even if they were proper to be continued, they could not be practised in a foreign country. "If," they said, "any should think that the partial disuse of this book will weaken the hands of our godly fathers and brethren, or be a disgrace to the worthy laws of king Edward, let them reflect, that they have themselves, on deliberation and change of circumstances, altered many things in it heretofore; and if God had not, in these wicked days, otherwise determined, would have altered

more, and in our case they would have done as we now do." They concluded by declaring their resolution to omit the litany and the responses*.

A. D.

1554.

Mary.

This announcement was far from satisfactory, even to the moderate divines of Strasburg, and they deputed two of their body, Chambers and Grindal, to reduce the Frankfort congregation, if possible, to a full conformity. The pretext that the magistracy of Frankfort would not permit the English to use their own service book was shown to be absurd. There could be no doubt of obtaining consent, if there were a necessity for asking it; and it was an imperious duty of the exiled church of England, at the present crisis, to maintain its established forms. If they were abandoned, it would seem to be a condemnation of their brethren at home, who were now sealing their faith with their blood. Well might a desertion of the peculiar faith and worship of the English church at this time give occasion to the reproaches of its enemies.

The troubles and dissensions at Frankfort were not unknown to the imprisoned protestants at home, and the intelligence added new poignancy to their sufferings. Ridley, in a letter to Grindal, written not long before his death, defended the English liturgy against the cavils of Knox. His objections against the litany were so futile, that Ridley was moved to write, "I wonder he can or dare avouch them before the learned men who are with you." The overbearing and impetuous temper of Knox was well known to Ridley, and called from him

* History of the Troubles at Frankfort.

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XIV.

the following animadversion : “ I know him to be a man of much good learning and of an earnest zeal : the Lord grant him to use them to his glory*!”

Knox having now assumed the chief direction of the Frankfort congregation, was not unprepared with an answer to the representations of the divines at Strasburg. In a letter, probably dictated by him, it was replied, that there was no danger of incurring the charge of inconsistency, for the martyrs in England were not yielding their lives in defence of ceremonies, but of doctrines ; and with respect to doctrines, there was no diversity of opinion. Therefore, if the learned divines of Strasburg should come to Frankfort with no other view than to reduce the congregation to king Edward’s worship, and to establish the popish ceremonies, they would better have remained at Strasburg. The laws of their own country, which had established the service book, were now repealed ; and as for their subscription to use it, that was no longer binding, and could not hinder them from making nearer approaches to the purity and simplicity of Christian worship. The established church of England was no longer protestant ; they were now in a strange country, where the ceremonies and vestments gave offence. Besides, it was generally allowed, that the book itself was imperfect ; and it was credibly reported†, that the archbishop of Canterbury had drawn up another form of common prayer, far more simple and pure ; but that he could not procure its adoption, because of the cor-

* Strype’s *Life of Archbishop Grindal*, b. i. c. 2.

† This insinuation was totally void of foundation. See Fuller’s *Church Hist.* b. viii.

ruption of the English clergy. The English discipline was unquestionably defective, because the liturgy lamented the want of it; and, therefore, it might be inferred, that if the English martyrs were in similar circumstances with the exiled congregation of Frankfort, they would use the same latitude, and reform those errors which they could not reform in their own country.

A. D.

1554.

May.

It was not surprising that the Frankfort congregation, knowing the sentiments of Knox, should have proposed to adopt the Genevan service; but it is not so immediately apparent why Knox should have declined to accede to the proposal, till the English at Strasburg and Zurich were consulted. But till their opinion could be received he would not allow the use of the English service book; and in case it was continued, he desired that his ministerial office might be confined to preaching, or he was willing to resign his office altogether.

While the affair was in suspense, Lever proposed an accommodation, and moved that the task of drawing up a liturgy might be referred to himself, on a stipulation that he would not servilely follow either the Genevan or any other model. But when the congregation perceived that his scheme was far below their ideas of purity and reformation, the overture was rejected*.

Apprehensive that some accommodation might at last take place, Knox and Whittingham made a Latin abstract of the English liturgy, and sent it to Calvin for his judgment. What an abstract must be by such prejudiced hands it is easy to

* History of the Troubles at Frankfort.

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XIV.

imagine: but they were not satisfied with leaving their own unfair representation to the criticism of Calvin; they obtruded their own censures, cavilling at many parts with great severity, and pretending to have concealed many blemishes from tenderness and shame*.

Jan. 11.

Calvin certainly needed no impulse or incitement from Knox to depreciate the English liturgy, and his answer abundantly gratified its Frankfort opponents. He complained that the contest was unseasonable, but freely imputed the blame to those who pressed the use of king Edward's service book. For himself, he was always inclined to gentleness, and it was his custom to yield to his weaker brethren in respect of ceremonies; but yet he thought it unwise to indulge the stubborn and inflexible. In the English liturgy he could discover many tolerable fooleries†; and such blemishes, as they were not sinful, might be allowed at first: when they could not be amended they were to be endured. But it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ to make a farther enterprise, and to establish a form of greater purity. If the English reformation had continued undisturbed, an improvement ought to have taken place; but since the church was overthrown, what should now prevent the old metal from being cast in a better mould? He could not but wonder at those, who were so fond of the dregs of popery as to cast away such a favourable opportunity of reformation. To pretend any fear of censure from their brethren

* History of the Troubles of Frankfort.

† Multæ tolerabiles ineptiæ.

in England was chimerical; for by compliance with the godly of Frankfort they would awaken reflection in the minds of these brethren. Then their countrymen would be led to see the gulf into which popery had plunged them, and into what a dangerous abyss they were sunk. And thus they would be more sensible of the hollow ground on which they stood, when they found that their exiled fellow Christians had thought it safe to remove to a still greater distance*.

A. D.
1555.

Mary.

This decisive epistle from Calvin inspired Knox and his adherents with new boldness; but their victory was by no means complete. The admirers of Calvin translated the Genevan office, and submitted it to the congregation; but it was rejected, and the leaders of the two parties projected a form inoffensive to all. A compromise took place, by which the English and Genevan service were to be used partially, and an agreement was signed, that this temporary arrangement should continue during four months, at the expiration of which To May 1. time some permanent settlement might be adjusted†.

A short time before the expiration of the term, March 13. Cox, the late dean of Christchurch, came to Frankfort‡, with several of his friends. They had an equal right to settle there with Knox and his party, and an equal right to the enjoyment of their opinions. But it is said that they infringed the

* Calvin. Epist.

† History of the Troubles at Frankfort.

‡ The writer of the History of the Troubles at Frankfort says, that Cox came immediately from England; but this is doubtful, because it appears that he went first to Strasburg.

CHAP.
XIV.

contract previously made: they would recede nothing from the English liturgy; they insisted on repeating the responses aloud after the minister; and one of their party ascended the pulpit, and read the whole litany. Knox could not repress his indignation; he succeeded to the possession of the pulpit, and, in a vehement harangue, taxed the Coxians with a breach of their agreement, and uttered a bitter invective against the English liturgy; he ventured to affirm that the late calamities had fallen on England solely as a punishment for her languid and inefficient exertions in the work of reform.

A meeting was appointed on a future day to discuss those differences, which had most unsuitably begun in the time of divine worship. An objection was raised against the right of the Coxians to vote in the congregation, but it was soon overruled, and Knox, by a surprising compliance, urged the propriety of admitting his opponents to an equality of privileges. The Coxians being admitted to the rights of church-membership, were found to constitute the majority of the congregation, and, availing themselves of their superiority, drove Knox from his post, and prohibited him from preaching. The Scottish reformer, finding that his interest with the congregation had declined, attempted to gain over the magistrates of Frankfort to his side. Glauberg, one of the senators, was not unwilling to mediate, but being ignorant of the nature of the dispute, referred it to Valerandus, the superintendent of the French church; and, probably from the representations of Valerandus, Glauberg insisted that the English

should conform to the French, both in doctrine and ceremonies.

A. D.
1555.

Mary.

The matter had scarcely been thus settled, when Knox was accused by the Coxians of treason; and the charge was founded on one of his books, entitled “An Admonition to all Christians.” In this treatise he had used some unwarrantable freedoms with the emperor Charles, his son Philip, and Mary, queen of England. There were several obnoxious passages; but that which was deemed sufficient to prove his guilt was an averment that the emperor was not less than Nero * an enemy to Christ. The senate, being jealous of the imperial honour, ordered Knox to depart from the city: March 26. he obeyed the command, after having preached a farewell sermon to his party, and retired to Geneva.

Cox having thus dispossessed his rival, received a considerable accession; for, on the day when Knox left Frankfort, three doctors and thirteen bachelors in divinity petitioned the magistrates to be allowed the free use of king Edward’s service book—a request which was readily granted. Though the church had been formed by Cox, yet he had no views of power or influence for himself, and he refused to take any share in its government. Whitehead was at first

* The passage was this: “O England, England, if thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league, with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry, such as the emperor, who is no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero; if, for the pleasure and friendship, I say, of such princes, thou return to thine old abominations before used under papistry, then assuredly thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and serve Antichrist.”

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chosen its superintendent, or principal pastor, and under him there were two elders and four deacons. Some progress was also made in the establishment of an English university. Robert Horn was the professor of Hebrew, and Mullings read lectures on the Greek language; Traheron was appointed professor of theology, and Chambers made treasurer for the contributions remitted from England.

The defeat of Knox and his party called forth the severe animadversions of Calvin. The Genevan reformer intimated to Cox that his countrymen were too scrupulously attached to the English ceremonies, and that there was no reason for burdening the church with offensive customs in a place where a liberty was allowed of adopting a pure and perfect order.

When Cox had settled the church of Frankfort he retired to Strasburg, while Knox and a few chosen friends repaired to Geneva. In that city, where the will of Calvin was a law, Knox and his party had a church allotted for their use, and Knox, with Goodman, was chosen pastor of the English congregation. The rest of the Knoxians, among whom was Fox, the martyrologist, obtained a settlement at Basil.

The English congregation at Geneva, having embraced the discipline of Calvin in its full extent, published it in English, under the title of "The Service, Discipline, and Form of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva." To this book was prefixed a dedication, addressed to their brethren in England and elsewhere, which clearly announced their views. They lauded their own discipline, as

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being limited within the compass of God's word, which is the only safe rule of action, and assigned the dilatory proceedings of the bishops in reforming church discipline as one cause of the heavy judgments of God on England. The late service book of king Edward, being abolished by parliament, could in no sense be called the established form of worship in the English church; and there was no longer any obligation to use it farther than it was agreeable to the word of God. Being therefore at liberty, and in a strange land, they had established such an order as, in the judgment of Calvin and other learned divines, was most consonant with Scripture and the best reformed churches. Their reason for laying aside the late rites and ceremonies was because they were invented by men, and, though good in their intention, had been abused, and falsely esteemed an essential part of religion. Thus Hezekiah was commended for breaking in pieces the brazen serpent, after it had been erected eight hundred years, and the high places, which had been abused to idolatry, were commanded to be destroyed. In the New Testament, the washing the feet of the disciples, as well as the love-feasts, were only temporary institutions, and were wisely laid aside. Besides, these rites and ceremonies had caused divisions in the church, in every age. The Galatian Christians objected to Saint Paul, that he did not observe the Jewish ceremonies like the other apostles, and yet he observed them while there was any hope of gaining the weaker brethren: but when he perceived that some would retain them in the church as essential, he called that, which he before accounted indif-

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ferent, wicked and profane. Similar contentions had arisen between the Greek and Latin churches in later ages. For these and other reasons, they had thought it fit to lay aside human inventions, which had been productive of so great mischief, and had contented themselves with that wisdom which is contained in the word of God. That word has directed that the gospel shall be preached in purity, the sacrament administered sincerely, and such prayers used as tend to the edification of the church, and the increase of God's glory *.

The divisions at Frankfort were not terminated, even with the departure of the leaders of the two great parties; but the contests attract little interest from the comparatively inferior characters who mingled in them. After the wars of giants, who would descend to relate the battles of pigmies? Yet such is the ungrateful task of the candid historian.

Whitehead, to whom the superintendence of the Frankfort congregation was committed by Cox, having resigned his charge, Horn succeeded to that important office; and within six months after his appointment a new division arose, from a private dispute of Horn with Ashley, one of the principal members. Horn summoned Ashley to appear before the elders and officers of the church; Ashley appealed from them, as interested parties, to the whole congregation. The spiritual pastors of the congregation protested against such an appeal, and chose rather to resign their ministerial office than submit to a popular decision. The congregation

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. c. 3.

having been assembled on this occasion, passed a resolution, that in all controversies among themselves, and especially in cases of appeal, the last resort should be to the whole church*. It is scarcely credible to what an excess of fierceness these disputes were carried. Letters were despatched to Cox, Sandys, and Bertie; but their efforts at mediation were vain. Jewel, who was then at Zurich, exerted his utmost endeavours to close the schism, exhorting the contending parties to live like brethren, and to lay aside all strife about matters of no importance, and not to bring a reproach on their country, and, which was worse, on their religion†.

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At length these contentions engaged the attention of the magistracy, and called forth its interposition. A precept was delivered in writing, advising that all past offences should be forgotten; that a new discipline should be formed, or the old discipline amended. The execution of this necessary work was advised before the ecclesiastical officers of the congregation were chosen, that the whole congregation, being on an equality, might agree on its future regulations, without bias or control. In compliance with this recommendation, fifteen persons were appointed to form a body of laws; and this committee, after some delay, completed the undertaking. The new discipline was at first subscribed by fifty-seven members of the congregation, and afterwards by twenty-eight more, and it finally received the confirmation of the magistrates. Hern, with twelve other dissentients,

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iii. c. 3.

† Life of Jewel, prefixed to his Apology.

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 XIV. of the old discipline gained the victory. After a
 Dec. 21. short struggle, Horn and his adherents left the
 Frankfort congregation to their new government,
 and departed to Strasburg*.

1558. There seems to have existed among the exiles a
 strong persuasion that the dominion of popery and
 cruelty in England would not be of long duration.
 Jewel, without advancing any claim to a super-
 natural revelation, was constantly repeating this
 consolatory aphorism: "These things will not last
 an age." Fox, the martyrologist, carried his pre-
 tensions higher, and in a sermon delivered to his
 banished countrymen at Basil, told them that the
 time was come for their return to England, and
 that he brought the welcome news by the com-
 mand of God. He was at the time sharply re-
 proved by the graver divines then present, for his
 presumption, but was excused afterwards by the
 event; for it was found that queen Mary died on
 the day before Fox thus presaged†.

The intelligence was communicated with an
 astonishing rapidity. The death of the queen was
 known at Rome on the ninth day after it hap-
 pened‡; and it was known at Zurich in less than
 a fortnight§. The exiles were not long in pre-
 paring for their return; and it is pleasing to close
 the narrative by recording that, although calamity
 could not teach them brotherly kindness, yet when
 their hearts were dilated with joy, better senti-

* History of the Troubles of Frankfort.

† Life of Fox, by his son.

‡ Parker's Antiq. Brit.

§ Peter Martyr's Letters.

ments for a time predominated. Conciliatory letters were mutually written. Those of Geneva desired an interchange of forgiveness, and prayed their brethren of Frankfort to unite with them, on their return, in preaching the sincere word of God; but at the same time they earnestly implored an union in procuring such a form of worship as was practised in the best reformed churches abroad. To this request the divines of Frankfort replied, that it was beyond their power to prescribe a form of worship or discipline to the kingdom of England; but they had determined to submit to indifferent things, and they trusted that their brethren of Geneva would follow their example. Both parties joined, and vied with each other in offering congratulations to their new queen, and they had nothing more substantial to offer. They came home, bringing with them much experience as well as learning, and they were destitute of every thing else*. But they entertained a reasonable hope that these qualities would recommend them to a princess who, like themselves, had been trained in the school of affliction; and that the protestant faith would regain its ascendancy in England on THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH.

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* Strype's Annals, vol. i.

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